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THE JOHNS HOPKINS STUDIES IN ROMANCE LITERATURES
AND LANGUAGES

VOLUME X

THE MISTERIO DE LOS REYES MAGOS

ITS POSITION IN THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE
MEDIAEVAL LEGEND OF THE THREE KINGS

BY

WINIFRED STURDEVANT



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PREFACE

The subject of the following study was suggested to the writer by a remark of Professor C. Carroll Marden. In pursuing the investigations embodied in it, she has profited by the assistance of Professor D. S. Blondheim. She is also under obligations to Professors Joseph Bédier, H. Carrington Lancaster and Antoine Thomas. Professor George L. Hamilton was kind enough to read the work as a whole and to make a number of valuable suggestions. Although the thanks of the writer are due to these gentlemen, she is alone responsible for the imperfections which the reader will not fail to notice.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vii
INTRODUCTION	1
THE LEGEND IN	
1. The Gospel of St. Matthew.....	6
2. The Apocryphal Gospels.....	8
3. Greek and Latin theological writings	11
4. Early French writings	35
THE RELATION OF THE REYES MAGOS TO	
1. The Latin liturgical Three Kings plays.....	46
2. The Benediktbeuern transitional Latin play and the mediaeval French, English and German Three Kings plays	56
THE INFLUENCE OF THE FRENCH NARRATIVE POEMS OF THE GOS- PEL OF THE INFANCY ON THE REYES MAGOS.....	74
CONCLUSION.....	77
APPENDIX I. Tabulated statements	80
II. Text of the Three Kings episode from the Valen- ciennes « Passion en rime franchoise ».....	88
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	121
INDEX.....	127

INTRODUCTION

The Legend of the Three Kings has been the subject of many critical studies, theological, historical, literary, astronomical and iconographic, but has been singularly neglected from the point of view of the drama.

The results of some of these critical studies, although not bearing directly on the drama, furnish, nevertheless, much useful material for tracing the development of the legend in its relations with the drama. Most of the material which can be utilized for this purpose was collected by H. Crombach in his *Primitiæ Gentium sive Historia SS. Trium Regum*, (Cologne 1654) who, however, scorns reference to any but the orthodox theological tradition. Later purely theological commentators, the most comprehensive of whom is F. J. Patrizi in his *De Evangelii Libri Tres, Dissertatio 27, De Magis qui Christum inviderunt* (Freiburg in B., 1853) add little except more modern scholarly apparatus. O. Schade, in his edition of the Pseudo-Matthew, *Liber de Infantia Mariæ et Christi Salvatoris*, (Halle, 1869) gives much the same material, but adds references to the occurrence of the tradition in mediaeval German poetry and thereby

contributes to the study of dramatic sources. Abp. Trench, (Philadelphia, 1850), in *The Star of the Wise Men*, discusses the theological tradition from an Anglican and devotional point of view; Ch. Schoebel in *l'Histoire des Rois Mages*, (Paris, 1878) considers the philosophical symbolism of the legend. The most exhaustive and interesting study is the comparatively recent one of H. Kehrer, *Die Heiligen Drei Könige in Literatur und Kunst*, 2 vols., (Leipzig, 1909) which is as comprehensive as its title suggests and is invaluable for a study of the legend.

These works and many other less comprehensive ones, repeat and supplement each other in such a way that it is impossible to distinguish among them in acknowledging the indebtedness of the present study for the specific references which have been consulted. Undoubtedly, however, the bulk of indebtedness is due to Kehrer.

Many of the points which are considered at greatest length in these critical studies do not concern in any way the dramatic tradition. The doctrinal significance of the Epiphany, certain motifs of the legend, such as the well at Bethlehem into which the star fell after it had accomplished its purpose, special symbolical meanings of the gifts, are not utilized by the drama. A curious instance of this is that although the consensus of opinion brings the Three Kings from Persia, Persia is not given as their country in the mediaeval dramatic versions hitherto published but is found in the episode from the Valenciennes *Passion* published in Appendix II of this study.

On the other hand, possible sources of Three

Kings plays which have been considered as sources of other episodes of the cyclic drama, such as the French narrative poems of the Infancy, or the Biblical commentaries of Nicholas of Lyra, are not mentioned in these studies.

The only general study of the legend in the drama is in Kehrer's chapter on mystery plays, in which the discussion of the *Misterio de los Reyes Magos*, the special subject of the present study, occupies one paragraph of nine sentences, in four of which the second hand information from Creizenach's *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas* and Hartmann's *Ueber das altspanische Dreikönigsspiel*, is either incorrect or misleading.

Duriez, in *La Théologie dans le drame religieux en Allemagne au Moyen âge* (Lille, 1914), devotes fifteen pages to a study of the theological sources of the legend as found in the mediaeval German drama.

The only detailed discussion of the legend in connection with an individual play in the vernacular is that of Joseph Klapper on the sources of the *St. Gall Kindheit Jesu* in his edition of the play (Breslau, 1904).

Other discussions either of individual plays or of the relations between Three Kings plays are superficial and unsatisfactory. A possible source is often suggested, but no evidence is given as to why that one is chosen rather than several others which follow the same tradition. Or a borrowing between plays is posited merely on the basis of a common adoption of a traditional element of frequent occurrence.

Emile Roy, for instance, in his *Le Mystère de la Passion en France* (Dijon et Paris, 1903) pp. 210-211, in discussing the episode in the Greban *Passion*, gives Nicholas of Lyra as an immediate source because of the resemblances in the definition of the nature of the star, which, however, are not close, and the return of the Magi by ship, both of which elements occur frequently and in conjunction several times between Peter Comestor and Nicholas of Lyra. Wilmotte in *Les Passions allemandes du Rhin dans leur rapport avec l'ancien théâtre français* (Paris, 1898) p. 75, on the other hand, finds the Eger play a « flagrant imitation » of the Greban *Passion* because of the return by ship, without, however, giving any evidence that the author is not merely dramatizing a common tradition.

In order to establish a source on the basis of the legend, it is necessary first to determine the more unusual motifs of a given play and then to find where these motifs occur in the same combination in any possible source of the drama.

The object of the following study is to facilitate such research in all mediaeval Three Kings plays and to present, with evidence, a new theory of an immediate source of the earliest Three Kings play in the vernacular, the Spanish *Miseria de los Reyes Magos*.

Since the Shepherds or Prophets plays so frequently precede, and the Slaughter of the Innocents plays so frequently follow the Three Kings episode without interruption, it would be interesting to extend the study to include them, but it has been considered that since the plays were just

as frequently distinct one from the other, the deductions based on their relations to the Three Kings plays might bias any conclusion based on the Three Kings plays alone .

The quotations from the early Greek Fathers have been given usually in Latin translation since they are most easily accessible and generally understood in that form and most suggestive of the continuity of tradition.

The study has been completed through the chronological presentation in theological and early French writings of the first appearance of the various motifs of the legend of the Three Kings which are utilized by the mediaeval drama ; the tabulation of the reappearance in Greek and Latin theological writings of three of the most important motifs which are utilized by the Spanish play ; the study of the position of the *Reyes Magos* in the development of the legend ; and the publication of the text of the Three Kings episode from the *Passion de Jesu crist en rime franchoise*, Ms. 560 of the library of the city of Valenciennes.

The plan of the complete study is to add ultimately a discussion of the legend in popular writings in English and German ; to present briefly the motifs of the legend as they occur in the liturgy and liturgical plays ; and, finally, to show the relations of the legend in individual plays in French, English and German to the legend in non-dramatic literature, and thereby to contribute to the study of the sources of the Three Kings plays and of any relations which may exist between them.

THE LEGEND IN THE GOSPEL OF SAINT MATTHEW

The foundation of the legend of the Magi is the Gospel narrative which occurs only in Matthew.

Matt. II. 1-12 (1).

1. Cum ergo natus esset Jesus in Bethlehem Juda, in diebus Herodis regis, ecce Magi ab oriente venerunt Jerosolymam,

2. Dicentes : Ubi est qui natus est rex Judaeorum ? vidimus enim stellam ejus in oriente, et venimus adorare eum.

3. Audiens autem Herodes rex, turbatus est, et omnis Jerosolyma cum illo.

4. Et congregans omnes principes sacerdotum et scribas populi, sciscitabatur ab eis ubi Christus nasceretur.

5. At illi dixerunt ei : In Bethlehem Judæ : Sic enim scriptum est per Prophetam :

6. Et tu Bethlehem terra Juda, nequaquam minima es in principibus Juda : ex te enim exiet dux, qui regat populum meum Israel (Micah, V. 2).

7. Tunc Herodes clam vocatis Magis, diligenter didicit ab eis tempus stellæ, quæ apparuit eis :

8. Et mittens illos in Bethlehem, dixit : Ite et interrogate diligenter de puero : et cum inveneritis, renuntiate mihi, ut et ego veniens adorem eum.

9. Qui cum audissent regem, abierunt, et ecce stella, quam viderant in oriente, antecedebat eos, usque dum veniens staret supra ubi erat puer.

(1) *Biblia Sacra, Vulgatae editionis*, ed. P. Michael Hetzenauer (Rome, 1961).

10. Videntes autem stellam gavisī sunt gaudio magno valde.

11. Et intrantes domum, invenerunt puerum cum Maria matre ejus, et procidentes adoraverunt eum: et apertis thesauris suis obtulerunt ei munera, aurum, thus, et myrrham.

12. Et responso accepto in somnis ne redirent ad Herodem, per aliam viam reversi sunt in regionem suam.

Biblical passages from the Old Testament which became associated in tradition with the Magi as pre-figurations of the passage in St. Matthew and which are adopted by the drama are the following :

Num. XXIV, 17 : Orietur stella ex Jacob, et con-surget virga de Israel, et percutiet duces Moab, vastabitque omnes filios Seth. Et erit Idumæa possessio ejus.

Ps. LXXII, 9 : Coram illo procident Aethiopes.

10-11 Reges Tharsis et insulæ munera offerent, reges Arabum et Saba dona adducent.

Ps. XLVIII, 8 : In spiritu vehementi conteres naves Tharsis.

Isaiah LX, 3-6 : Et ambulabunt gentes in lumine tuo et reges in splendore ortus tui... Inundatio camellorum operiet te, dromedarii Madian et Ephraim : omnes de Saba venient, aurum et thus deferentes...

Isaiah XLV, 14 : Hæc dicit Dominus : Labor Ægypti et negotiatio Æthiopiæ, et Sabaim viri sublimes ad te transibunt...

Genesis XLIX, 10 : Non auferetur sceptrum de Juda, et dux de femore ejus, donec veniat qui mittendus est, et ipse erit expectatio gentium.

These passages will be considered in connection with their first appearance in Biblical commentaries.

THE LEGEND IN THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS

Of the New Testament Apocryphal Gospels, two, the Greek *Protevangelium of James the Less* (written after the 2nd century and probably only a little before the 6th) (1) and the Latin Pseudo-Matthew *Gospel of the Infancy* (probably written in the 6th century) (2) give the account of the Magi in detail, and one, the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy* (written not earlier than the end of the 6th century) (3) mentions it briefly. The additions to the narrative of Matthew found in these three apocryphal gospels that are utilized by the drama are the following :

1. From the *Protevangelium*, chap. XXI, in Michel's French translation (4) :

1. Et Hérode, l'ayant appris, fut troublé et il envoya des serviteurs près des mages.

2. Et il fit venir les princes des prêtres et les interrogea, disant : « Qu'est-il écrit au sujet du Christ... ? »

3. Et il interrogea les mages, leur disant : « Quel signe avez-vous vu au sujet du roi nouveau-né ? » Et les mages dirent :

4. « Nous avons vu une étoile brillant d'un très grand éclat parmi ces étoiles et les éclipsant au point de les rendre invisibles et nous avons ainsi reconnu

(1) *Evangiles Apocryphes*, ed. Michel et Peeters, 2 v. (Paris, 1911, 1914), I, xvii.

(2) *Ibid.*, I, xxi.

(3) *Ibid.*, II, lv.

(4) *Ibid.*, I, 43-45.

qu'un roi était né pour Israël, et nous sommes venus l'adorer. »

II. From the *Pseudo-Matthew Gospel of the Infancy* (1).

5. Tertia decima vero die (2) venerunt magi... deferentes munera. Qui instanter interrogaverunt Judæos dicentes : Ubi est... rex... Hæc opinio pervenit ad Herodem regem, et ita eum terruit ut mitteret ad scribas et Pharissæos et doctores populi...

6. Invenerunt infantem Jesum sedentem in sinu matris.

7. Tunc aperuerunt thesauros suos et ingentibus muneribus muneraverunt Mariam et Joseph...

8. Post hæc unus obtulit aurum, alius thus, alius vero myrrham.

9. Admoniti sunt in somnis ne redirent ad Herodem.

III. From the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy*, Peeters' French translation, chap. VII (3) :

10. ...Voici que des mages arrivèrent... selon ce que Zoroastre avait prédit...

11. Et au même instant un ange leur apparut sous la forme de l'étoile qui avait d'abord été leur guide. And in chap. IX, Herod dismisses the Magi before he summons the scribes to ask where Christ should be born.

A summary of the additions from the apocryphal gospels utilized by the drama are, therefore, from the *Protevangelium* :

1. A suggestion of the messenger scenes.

2. Herod's usual question of the scribes of what they find written.

3. Herod's usual question of the Magi expressed in the Latin plays by « Quo signo ».

(1) *Ibid.*, I, 108-110.

(2) In one Ms. only. In others : Transacto vero secundo anno ; duobis diebus, etc.

(3) Michel et Peeters, *op. cit.*, II, 9.

4. Characterization of the star as very great and dazzling.

From the *Pseudo-Matthew* :

5. The time (in a single Ms.).

6. The child is found sitting on his mother's lap.

7. Gifts to Mary and Joseph.

8. The suggestion of the number three in *unus, alius, alius*.

9. The warning by an angel.

From the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy* :

10. Prophecy of Zoroaster.

11. The suggestion that the star was an angel.

12. Dismissal of the Magi before the convocation of the scribes.

THE LEGEND IN GREEK AND LATIN THEOLOGICAL WRITINGS

The first comment on the passage from Matthew that has come down to us is that of Ignatius of Antioch (beginning of the 2nd century). His description of the star is extremely interesting as voicing at so early a date the conception, generally adopted in the drama, of novelty as well as of the brilliancy mentioned in connection with the *Protevangelium*.

« Stella in cœlo fulsit, splendore exsuperans omnes stellas, et lux illius ineffabilis erat, et stuporem incussit ipsius novitas... Et perturbatio erat, unde prodiret novitas illis dissimilis (1).

Justin Martyr (c.100-c.167) relates the whole passage, adding the country of the Magi : « Magi ex Arabia profecti eum adoraverunt ; and amplifying the Gospel « vidimus enim stellam ejus » into the more dramatic « ex stella quæ in cœlo apparuit, cognovimus natum esse regem in terra vestra (2) ».

Irenæus (c.115-c.202) adds to the narrative two motifs, both of which are found in the liturgy and are adopted practically universally by the drama. The first is the identification of the star of the Wise Men

(1) MIGNE, *Patrologia Græca*, V, 659, *Epistola ad Ephesios*, cap. 19. The Greek text of Migne is identical with that of A. Hilgenfeld, *Ignatii Antiocheni Epistulae* (Berlin, 1902), p. 7, ll. 12-17.

(2) MIGNE, *P. G.*, VI, 658, *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judæo*, cap. 77. the Greek text of which is identical with that of G. Arhambault, *Justin, Dialogue avec Tryphon* (Paris, 1909), II, 16, in Hemmer et Lejay, *Textes et documents pour l'étude historique du Christianisme*.

with that prefigured in Balaam's prophecy, « *cujus et stellam Balaam quidem sic prophetavit : Orietur stella ex Jacob et surget dux in Israël, etc.* ». (Numbers XXIV, 17). The second is the symbolical meaning of the gifts : *per ea quæ obtulerunt munera ostendisse, quis erat qui adorabatur : myrrham quidem quod ipse erat, qui pro mortali humano genere moreretur et sepeliretur ; aurum vero, quoniam rex ; thus vero quoniam Deus (1) ».*

Tertullian (160-220) is the first to identify the Magi with the kings of Psalm LXXI, 9-11 : « *Coram illo pro-cident Æthiopes : et inimici ejus terram lingent.*

10. *Reges Tharsis et insulæ munera offerent : Reges Arabum et Saba dona adducent :*

11. *Et adorabunt eum omnes reges terræ : omnes gentes servient ei. »*

Tertullian says : « *De illo autem tunc auri munere etiam David : et dabitur illi ex auro Arabiæ, et rursus reges Arabum et Saba munera offerunt illi. Nam et magos reges habuit fere Oriens (2) ».*

Tertullian is also the first to consider them astrologers : « *Sed magi (et astrologi) ab oriente uenerunt... Primi igitur stellarum interpretes natum Christum anuntiauerunt, primi munerauerunt (3) ».*

Origen (185-253) treats the subject at greater length than any of his predecessors, and furnishes much of the later homiletic material on the Magi, notably of Hilary of Poitiers, Jerome and Ambrose. In addition to being the first to suggest that the Magi were three in number and of the race of Balaam, he describes the star in detail and gives the symbolical meaning of the gifts. The passages most frequently quoted are : « *Ex illo (sc. Balaam) denique fertur magorum genus et institutio... qui descripta habentes apud se omnia quæ*

(1) MIGNE, P. G., VII, 870-1, *Contra Hæreses*, III, ix, 2.

(2) *Corpus Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum... Vindobonensis*, XLVII, *Tertulliani Opera*, Pars III, p. 398.

(3) C. S. E. L., XX, *Tertulliani Opera*, Pars I, p. 38.

prophetaverat Balaam, etiam hoc habuerunt scriptum quod 'Orietur stella'... Hæc scripta habebant magi apud semetipsos, et ideo quando natus est Jesus, agnoverunt stellam, et intellexerunt adimpleri prophetiam (1).

And again : « Magi illi, qui de Oriente venientes primi adorare venerunt Jesum, de semine ejus (sc. Balaam) esse videantur, sive per successionem generis, sive per disciplinae traditionem (2) ».

« Stellam quæ ab illis in Oriente conspecta fuit, novam fuisse opinamur, nec ulli earum similem, quæ vel in firmamento sunt vel in orbibus inferioribus (3) ».

The passage suggesting that the Magi were three in number is : « Possunt quidem isti tres (4)... figuram tenere magorum, qui ex Orientis partibus veniunt eruditi paternis libris (5) ».

Hilary of Poitiers (d. 367) is frequently quoted directly by later exegetes. More emphatically than Tertullian he quotes Psalm LXXI, 9 as having its perfect fulfilment in the adoration of the Wise Men, and virtually establishes their position as kings (6).

Gregory Nazianzen (c.325-c.389) stresses especially the nature of the star. The Magi he describes as Chaldæan astrologers. The Latin translation of certain of his phrases suggests strikingly the phraseology of the Latin liturgical plays. The star is « nova et nunquam antea visa... valde rutilantem ;... stella prævisa in Hebræorum libris, a quibus edocti, Chaldæorum filii, quorum vita erat astris dedita... Tunc astrolo-

(1) *P. G.*, XII, 675, *In Numeros Homilia*, XIII, 7. = ed. W. A. Baehrens (Leipzig, 1921), p. 118, ll. 17-22.

(2). *P. G.*, XII, 689, *In Numeros Homilia*, XV, 4, = ed. Baehrens, p. 136, ll. 23-25, except that Baehrens reads *adoraverunt* for *adorare venerunt*.

(3) *P. G.*, XI, 767, *Contra Celsum*, I, 58. Cf. ed. P. Kœtschau (Leipzig, 1899), p. 109, ll. 28-30, which has a Greek text identical with that of Migne.

(4) Abimelech, Ochosath and Phicol (*Genesis*, XXVI, 26).

(5) *P. G.*, XII, 238, *In Genesim Homilia*, XIV, 3. = ed. Baehrens (Leipzig, 1920), p. 125, ll. 8-10.

(6) MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina*, X, 124-5, *De Trinitate*, lib. IV.

gorum artis solertia omnis concepit, cum regem astrologi adorarent (1) ».

Cæsarius (c.330-c.369), brother of Gregory, brings up a question in connection with the star which is of great importance to the dramatic development of the legend. From the words of Matthew II, 8 : *abierunt, et ecce stella quam viderant in Oriente antecedebat eos*, it may perhaps be considered implicit in the Gospel narrative that the star had disappeared during the sojourn of the Wise Men in Jerusalem, but Cæsarius is the first to state it as a fact. He does so in support of the statement already suggested in connection with the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy* and elsewhere, also, frequently repeated after Cæsarius (by e. g. Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom and Diodorus Tarsensis) that the star must have been some intellectual and rational power, because, unlike any other star, it was at one time moving, at another fixed and again it disappeared.

« Hæc autem utrumque recipere videtur, nimirum quæ et mobilis esset et fixa, atque etiam ab iis ducebantur, sese subduceret... propter ademptum viæ ducem. Rursus autem apparens, constitit supra antrum ubi, infans erat... nam nisi per intermissionem apparuisset non fuisset commota Hierosolyma » (2).

In the same passage he likewise qualifies the star with the epithet « royal » which is found frequently in later commentaries and is used in the York play : « illi regalem agnoscentes stellam ad adorandum puerum per stellam deducti ».

Juvencus, in his *Historia Evangelica*, written c. 330, is the first to give the legend in poetical form in Latin, and is frequently quoted by later writers (e. g. Jerome, *In Mall.*, II, 11 ; Haymo of Halberstadt, *In Epiph. Di.*), especially the lines :

(1). P. G., XXXVII, 427-30, *Carminum*, lib. I.

(2) P. G., XXXVIII, 974, *Dialogus II*, *Interrogatio* 107.

« Hinc iubet Herodes Persas pertendere gressum »
 and... « tum munera trina
 Tus, aurum, murrâ regique, hominique Deoque
 Dona dabant (1) ».

Prudentius (348-c.405), *Cathemerinon* XII. *Hymnus Epiphania* ; Claudian (d. 405), *Epigramma* XCIX ; and Synesius (d. c. 414) *Hymnus* VII, likewise give poetical versions of the legend in the same century. The following extracts are interestingly reflected in the liturgical plays.

« Hæc stella, quæ solis rotam
 Vincit decore ac lumine
 Venisse terris nuntiat
 Cum carne terrestri Deum... »

« En Persici ex orbis sinu,
 Sol unde sumit januam
 Cernunt periti interpretes
 Regale vexillum Magi (2). »

« Dant tibi Chaldæi prænuntia munera Reges,
 Myrrham homo ; rex aurum ; suscipe tura Deus (3). »

« Deus es, thus accipe :
 Aurum regi fero :
 Myrrha monumento congruet (4). »

Ambrose (c. 340-390) is the first to elaborate slightly the accepted mystical meaning of the gifts in giving *sacrifice* instead of *God* as the symbolical meaning of the incense : « Aurum regi, tus deo, murra defuncto ; aliud enim regis insigne, aliud diuinæ *sacrificium* potestatis, aliud honor est sepulturæ » (5).

Jerome (c.340-420) (6) gives an additional meaning to

(1) C. S. E. L., XXIV, IUVENCI, *Euangeliorum Libri Quattuor*, lib. I, 15-6.

(2) AUREL. CL. PRUDENTIUS, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Valpy (London, 1824), p. 151.

(3) CLAUDIUS CLAUDIANUS, ed. Artaud (Paris, 1824), v. 2, p. 406.

(4) P. G., LXVI, 1611.

(5) C. S. E. L., XXXII, Pars IV, p. 66, *Expositio euangelii Lucæ*, II, 44.

(6) P. L., XXX, 537-8, *Expos. in Evangel. Matthæus*.

the gifts which becomes a usual one and which occurs in a modified form in the Chester play : « per aurum conscientiam puram, per thus orationem rectam, per myrrham mortificationem voluntatis ».

For the first time the number of the Magi is given unmistakably : « Tres Magi... cum tribus muneribus, Trinitatem adorare significant ».

He discusses the question, solved variously by commentators and in the drama, whether each king gives all three gifts, or each gives only one : « Utrum unus aurum, alius thus, tertius myrram obtulit : non scitur : an unusquisque tria obtulit dona, aperte non dicitur, sed utrumque in figura ».

He discusses, likewise, the question of the length of the journey, which is asked, but not answered in the Gospel narrative, as frequently, also, in the drama : « *Tunc Herodes clam vocalis* (Matt. II. 6). Hic defecit historia... propter hoc distant opiniones, quando magi venerunt... si in duodecim dies, quomodo de longa terra Persæ vel Evilæ, Arabiæ vel Cedar in duodecim dies venire potuerunt ? Sed potest id facere Deus cujus verbo saxa volant, montes movebunt ».

Like Tertullian and Hilary, Jerome associates the Magi with the Psalm Kings : « *Reges Tharsis...* : quod ex magorum muneribus intelligimus inchoatum. Ipsi enim gentium regumque typum tenuisse monstrantur » (1).

John Chrysostom (c.347-407) follows Cæsarius in differentiating the star from all other stars by its movement, and adds other differences which are repeated either separately or in full by later commentators and in the drama : « Quod enim hæc stella, non ex numero aliarum, imo ne stella quidem esset, ut mihi quidem videtur, sed invisibilis quædam virtus, quæ stellæ speciem præferret, *Primo*, ab ejus itinere arguitur... hæc vero stella a septentrione ad meridiem ferebatur : Pa-

(1) *P. L.*, XXVI, 1029, *Breviarium in Psalmos*, Psalm LXXI.

lestinæ quippe hic situs est si Persidem spectes. *Secundo*, illud etiam a tempore probari potest. Neque enim noctu apparet, sed in meridie lucente sole... Hæc vero stella splendoris sui vi etiam solis radios splendore superabat, majoresque emittebat radios. *Tertio*, probatur, quod ea modo lucem emitteret, modo cessaret. Nam venientibus in Palestinam luxit: postquam autem Jerosolymam advenerant, sese occultavit; deinde Herode relicto, postquam illum de causa itineris certiores fecerant, iter suscepturis apparuit... *Quarto*, ab ipso lucendi modo id clare discitur. Non enim in alto cœlo constituta, neque enim poterant illo modo dirigi, sed inferne demissa, locum monstrabat... Quomodo igitur, quæso, locum ita angustum præsepis et tugurii ostendisset, nisi relictâ illa celsitudine ad inferiora descendisset? » (1)

Augustine (354-430) substitutes a new symbolical meaning for the offering of incense, which is accepted in tradition in the liturgy and in the drama almost as interchangeable with the first meaning already mentioned under Irenæus, Juvenius, Prudentius and Synesius. Until Augustine, incense has been offered as to God; Ambrose adds « in sacrifice »; Augustine says: « et nos regem, et *sacerdotem* et pro nobis mortuum Christum agnoscentes atque laudantes tanquam in auro et thure et myrrha honoravimus » (2).

He gives the time of the appearance of the star and qualifies it in terms which later become familiar: « Dominus noster Jesus Christus ante dies tredecim natus a Magis hodie traditur adoratus... illa stella quæ nec unquam antea inter sidera apparuit ».

Maximus of Turin (c. 380-485) adds to the description of the star epithets which are later found in the liturgical plays: « Illam in Chaldæa magi *coruscantibus lætioribus radiis micantem* vident (3)... Quis enim du-

(1) P. G., LVII, 64-5, *In Matthæum Homilia*, VI.

(2) P. L., XXXVIII, 1031-5, *Sermones in Epiph. Dom.*

(3) P. L., LVII, 264-281, *De Epiph. Dom. Homiliæ*.

bitet ipsam stellam... *fulgentioribus radiis coruscasse...* stella hæc a cæteris sideribus orbe clariore distaret... sequuntur Chaldæi *præviam* stellam. »

He states clearly that each king offered a single gift : « In eo enim quod tria offeruntur, Trinitas intelligitur ; in eo vero quod tres sunt et singuli singula offerunt, in Trinitate unitas declaratur ».

For the first time the child is found in his mother's lap as in Pseudo-Matthew : « Vident magi Redemptorem mundi in stabulo ; intuentur puerum in matris gremio ».

In the *Tractate V Contra Judæos*, which, however, is generally considered spurious, Psalm LXXII is quoted, as by Tertullian, as a prefiguration of the passage in Matthew, but the relation is made more definite : « *Reges terræ et Insulæ* ; quod manifestatum est denuo in sancto Evangelio, quando Magi venerunt portantes munera, aurum, thus et myrrham » (1).

Leo the Great (Pope 440-461) qualifies the usual conception of the star in final terms : « tribus igitur magis... stella novæ claritatis apparuit, quæ illustrior cæteris pulchriorque sideribus... sequuntur tres viri superni luminis ductum, et prævii fulgoris indicium intenta contemplatione comitantes... insolito novi sideris splendore... cæteris stella fulgentior... fulgore insoliti sideris » (2).

He speaks of the Magi as coming « a remotissima Orientis parte ».

Arnobius the Younger (c. 460) is the first to connect the ships of Tharsis of Psalm XLVIII, with Herod and the Magi, and thereby to suggest the return of the Magi by ship : « quod tempore quo non est inventus Dominus et infantes occisi sunt, etiam navigia regio sunt jussu vexata, quibus magi, qui non redierant ad regem credebant fugere potuisse » (3).

(1) *P. L.*, LVII, 801.

(2) *P. L.*, LIV, 235-45, *In Solemnitate Epiph.*, I-IV.

(3) *P. L.*, LIII, 391, *Commentarii in Psalmos*, Ps. XLVII.

The verses from Psalm XLVII are the following :

5. « Quoniam ecce reges terræ congregati sunt : convenerunt in unum.

6. Ipsi videntes sic admirati sunt, conturbati sunt, commoti sunt :

7. Tremor apprehendit eos. Ibi dolores ut parturientis.

8. In spiritu vehementi conteres naves Tharsis ».

Fulgentius (468-533) is quoted constantly by later commentators on Matthew II, 1-16 though his words concerning the star, « Hæc stella nunquam ante apparuit » (1) are taken in turn from Augustine.

His statement of the symbolism of the gifts is frequently quoted : « Per ista tria munerum genera, in uno eodemque Christo et regia potestas et divina majestas, et humana mortalitas intimatur. Aurum pertinet ad tributum, thus enim ad sacrificium, myrrha ad sepulturam pertinet mortuorum ».

Cæsar of Arles (d. c. 542), if we consider the genuineness of Maximus' *Tractate* V disproved, makes the first plain, unequivocal statement, independent of the prefiguration in the Psalm Kings, that the Magi were kings : « Illi Magi tres reges esse dicuntur » (2).

Sedatus (Bp. of Béziers 589) « in eo quod ad Christum primum Æthiopes i. e. gentes ingrediuntur » (3) gives the first suggestion that one of the kings was what the English translation of John of Hildesheim, calls a « blak Ethiope » (4). Hilary of Poitiers (5) had already associated Isaiah XLV, 14 : Hæc dicit Dominus, Labor Ægypti, et negotiatio Æthiopiæ, et Sabaim viri sublimes ad te transibunt, et tui erunt », with the Magi ; and Jerome had defined the Magi as representing the

(1) P. L., LXV, 736, *Sermo IV De Epiph.*

(2) P. L., XXXIX, 2018, *Sermo CXXXIX.*

(3). P. L., LXXII, 773, *Homilia de Epiph.*

(4) *The Three Kings of Cologne*, ed. C. Horstmann (London, 1886), p. 72 (*E. E. T. S.*, 85).

(5) P. L., X, 124.

descendants of the three sons of Noah : « tres magi, tres filii Noe... significant » (1) and thereby the three continents, but the connotation is less clear than in Sedatus. Later Cosmas of Jerusalem strengthens this association by including v. 9 of Psalm LXXII in his prefiguration of the coming of the Magi : « Coram illo procident Æthiopes... Æthiopes et Tharsis, Arabum insulæ et Saba et Medorum, totius terræ dominatores procubuerunt tibi Salvator » (2).

Isidore of Seville (570-636) follows Tertullian in calling the Magi astronomers : « iidem stellarum interpretes magi nuncupabantur, sicut de his legitur qui in Evangelio natum Christum annuntiaverunt » (3) and in connecting them with the Psalm kings, but omits the significant word *fere* : « Omnes de Saba venient... de his muneribus et David prædicavit, dicens : Et dabitur ei de auro Arabiæ (Ps. LXXI, 11). Et rursus : Reges Tharsis... Nam et magos reges habuit Oriens » (4).

He suggests the name Zoroaster given to one of the kings in the Freising and Bilsen liturgical plays : « Magorum primus Zoroastes rex Bactrianorum » (3). As in the passage of the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy* already quoted, Zoroaster is frequently given as the name of the prophet who foretold the coming of the Magi. In a redaction of this *Gospel* edited for the first time by Peeters (5), this Zoroaster is identified with Balaam : « ce Zaradust n'est autre que Balaam l'astrologue ». The pseudo-Alcuin *Liber de divinis officiis* of the 9th century; Honorius of Autun, of the 12th (as will be discussed later in more detail); Hrabanus Maurus in his *De Universo* (6); and Walter Burley in *De*

(1) *P. L.*, XXX, 554.

(2) *P. G.*, XCVIII, 462, *Hymni in Natale Domini*.

(3) *P. L.*, LXXXII, 313 ; 310, *Etymologiarum lib. VIII, cap. 9*.

(4) *P. L.*, LXXXIII, 472, *De Fide Catholica XIII*.

(5) Michel et Peeters, *op. cit.*, II, p. x.

(6) *P. L.*, CXI, 422.

Vita et moribus philosophorum (1) follow the tradition which makes Zoroaster the first of the Magians, and ancestor of the Three Kings.

In the *Excerpta Latina Barbari* (2) of the 7th or 8th century, to which attention was first called in this connection by K. A. M. Hartmann (3), the traditional names of the Three Kings appear for the first time in literature as follows : *Bithisarea Melichior, Gathaspa*.

In a writing long incorrectly attributed to Bede (672-735) and published under his name with the title *Collectanea et Flores* (4), but now dated as late as the 12th century, they occur in a form more closely resembling the ones adopted by the drama (5). The passage, which is almost identical with one found in the Irish *The Passions and the Homilies from Leabhar Breac* (6), is interesting likewise, as giving the coloring and age of the kings : « Magi sunt, qui munera Domino dederunt : primus fuisse dicitur Melchior, senex et canus, barba prolixa... aurum obtulit regi Domino : secundus nomine Caspar, juvenis imberbis... thure quasi Deo... : tertius fuscus integre barbatus, Balthasar nomine... per myrrham filium hominis moriturum professus est ».

The names occur also, in a chronicle ascribed to Flavius Dexter (fl. c. 360-390), the friend of Augustine, but, according to Hartmann (7), really written by a

(1) Ed. Knust (1886), p. 46.

(2) Ed. C. Frick, *Chronica Minora*, (Leipzig, 1892), I, 338-9.

(3) *Ueber das Altspanische Dreikönigsspiel*. Leipzig Dissertation (Bautzen, 1879), pp. 51-89.

(4) *P. L.*, XCIV, 541.

(5) For discussions of the names of the Magi see : KEHRER, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-75 ; *La Vie de St. Gilles*, ed. G. Paris et A. Bos (Paris, 1881), p. xxv (*S. A. T. F.*) ; G. Paris, « Les Noms des Rois Mages » in *Rev. crit. d'hist. et de litt.* XVII (1884), 30-31 ; S. BERGER, « Les Noms des Rois Mages » in *Méhusine*, VII (1894), 27-33 ; Baist's review of Hartmann's dissertation in *Z.R.Ph.*, IV (1880), 451-5 ; R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, *Cantar de Mio Cid* I (Madrid, 1908), 25 ; and *Evangiles Apocryphes*, II, xlviii, n. 1.

(6) Ed. R. Atkinson (Dublin, 1887), p. 237.

(7) *Loc. cit.*, p. 64.

Spaniard of the 16th century. The passage is as follows : « Anno Christo 70. Martyrum sanctorum regum trium magorum, Gasparis, Balthasaris et Melchioris » (1).

The *Liber de divinis officiis* of the 9th century, which has been wrongly attributed to Alcuin, follows Isidore of Seville closely. The passage : « Magi Chaldæi in Oriente stellam videntes nimia claritate fulgentem ita ut solem luce superaret, ut erant edocti in cursu astrorum, animadverterunt hanc esse stellam quam olim Balaam... prædixerat... *Orietur stella*... Istorum enim magorum primus, Zoroastres rex exstitit, a quo originem feruntur traxisse » (2) though summarizing clearly the tradition concerning the Magi at the time of Charlemagne, adds nothing to it except the phrase « ita ut solem luce superaret », which is to become familiar, and the closer association of these particular Magi with the first of the race, Zoroaster.

Hrabanus Maurus (c.776-856) makes a fuller statement than his predecessors of the fact frequently referred to in the drama, that Herod was a foreigner, an Idumæan, who, after usurping the throne of Hyrcanus, was confirmed in power by Rome, thus fulfilling the prophecy of Genesis LXIX, 10 : « Non auferetur sceptrum de Juda, et dux de femore eius, donec veniat qui mittendus est, et ipse erit expectatio gentium », and, likewise, Numbers XXIV, 18 : « et erit Idumæa possessio ejus » (3).

Walafrid Strabo (d. 849) is the first to suggest the retinue of the Magi in the words : « vel tot fuerunt principes, qui multos duxerunt in suo comitatu » (4).

Haymo of Halberstadt (d. 853) in his *Homiliæ de Tempore* (5), summarizes the various opinions concerning the provenience of the Magi : « ...cui nos diversorum

(1) *P. L.*, XXXI, 229, Flavii Lucii Dextri *Chronicon*.

(2) *P. L.*, CI, 1178, *Opera supposita, De Theophania Domini*.

(3) *P. L.*, CVII, 754, *Comment. in Matth.*

(4) *P. L.*, CXIV, 73, *Glossa Ordinaria, In Matth.*

(5) *P. L.*, CXVIII, 111, *In Epiph. Domini*.

opiniones de his adhibemus, ut eligat quod salubrius judicaverit. Nonnulli enim dixerunt eis ex Tharso vel Arabia advenisse, et in his impletam volunt esse prophetiam ad litteram, quæ dicit : *Reges Tharsis et insulæ...* et iterum : *Omnes de Saba venient...* Alii dixerunt ex Persarum regione eos venisse, sicut quidam de sapientibus... (quoting Juvencus. Cf. supra p. 15). Plerique arbitrati sunt eos Chaldæos fuisse, quia Chaldaei stellas cœli deos esse putaverunt, et in arte astronomica peritissimi fuerunt. Alii dixerunt ex stirpe Balaam prophetæ eos descendisse ».

He likewise gives the various reasons for the belief that they were three in number.

Paschasius Radbertus (786-c.865), like Walafrid Strabo, from whom he draws freely, speaks of the Magi's having « alios quamplurimos in suo comitatu, sicut mos est magnorum, socios habuisse. Alioquin videtur difficile ut soli tres homines per alienas provincias tantum subirent negotium, et omnem Hierosolyman suo nuntio commoverent » (1).

He first makes the statement utilized in the drama, that the offerings are made according to the custom of the country : « Veterum enim traditio est quod Parthorum ac Persarum reges nullus sine muneribus vacuus adorabat ».

He inclines, unlike Maximus of Turin, to the belief that each offered all three gifts : « ... utrum eorum unusquisque forte hæc tria pariter obtulisset. Hoc enim potius congruit in mysterio ».

As Baist (2) and Kehrer (3) have suggested, from a reference to the names in Paschasius : « Quorum quia nomina etiam a quamplurimis viritim exprimuntur (4), we may infer that the names were of such common

(1) *P. L.*, CXX, 127, 137, *Expositio in Matth.*

(2) *Z.R.Ph.*, IV (1880), 453.

(3) *Op. cit.*, p. 68.

(4) *P. L.*, CXX, 127.

acceptance that it was not thought necessary to give them. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that two writers, contemporaries of Peter Comestor (cf. *infra*), Werner of St Blasien (d. 1126 or 1174) in his *Libri deflorationum SS. Patrum* (1) and Zacharias Chrysopolitanus (fl. c. 1131) (2) both give the names in the Hebrew and Greek forms, but omit the Latin. Hartmann infers from this that the Latin names were not yet commonly known, but since the Hebrew and the Greek names occur in the same order and form in three contemporary writers, it seems quite as probable that they all drew from the same source, and that two omitted to give the well known Latin form, as Paschasius had done before them.

Christianus of Stable (end of the 9th century), is the first to suggest that the Magi were able to come from so far in so short a time because they came on dromedaries : « et quidam dicunt quod cum dromedis in duodecim diebus venerunt, postquam stellam viderunt. Est autem dromeda genus camelorum, minoris quidem staturæ sed velocioris (3).

Anselm of Laon (1050-1117) makes an exhaustive compilation from previous commentators. Some of the motifs which he mentions in his summary are the following : « Nec soli (sc. Magi) sed multis militibus stipati venisse creduntur... Nec mireris eos in tredecim diebus venisse cum equos arabicos et dromedarios habeant... Turbatus (sc. Herodes) est propter astantem multitudinem magos comitantem... Quamvis Arabes morem suæ gentis in donis offerendis sequantur... tamen aliquid mysticum in donis intelligunt. Per aurum, regia potestas ; per thus divinitas et sacerdotium significatur ; thus enim soli Deo et a sacerdote offertur...

(1) *P. L.*, CLVII, 807.

(2) *P. L.*, CLXXXVI, 83, *Unum ex quatuor.*

(3) *P. L.*, CVI, 1283, *Expos. in. Matth. Evangelistam.*

Unusquisque tria obtuleret. Unusquisque enim regem et Deum et passibilem eum credebant » (1).

He says, likewise, that it is believed that the kings returned by ship to Persia, and that Herod, in a fury, burned these ships after their return.

Honorius of Autun (1st half of the 12th century) in the *Gemma Animæ* (2) clearly makes the Magi descendants of Zoroaster, thereby taking up the motif already mentioned in connection with the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy*, Isidore, the *Liber de divin. offic.*, etc. « Primus Zoroaster rex magicam invenit, de cujus semine Balaam exstitit, qui de Christo hoc prædixit : *Orietur stella* (Numbers XXIV). Ex cujus progenie hi magi fuerunt qui ad Dominum cum muneribus venerunt ».

In his *Speculum Ecclesiæ* (3) Honorius speaks of the star as follows : « Hæc stella clarior sole fuit, unde et in die radians a sole obscurari non potuit, quia solem solis suo fulgore prætulit. Hæc etiam in cœlo, non cum aliis syderibus, sed in ære prope terram cucurrit... »

Peter Abelard (1079-1142) approaches the subject with the critical spirit which he had found so lacking in his master Anselm of Laon (4) whose commentary is quoted above. Abelard says : « Nonnulli hos magos reges arbitrantur fuisse, juxta illam prophetiam Psalmistæ (Psalm LXXII, 10)... Quot vero isti magi fuerint ex numero trinæ oblationis tres eos fuisse multi suspicantur ; cum hoc tamen nulla auctoritate Scripturæ definiatur » (5).

It is interesting that in spite of this skepticism, Abelard should be the first to refer to and to quote in

(1) P. L., CLXII, 1254-7, *Ennarationes in Matth.*

(2) P. L., CLXXII, 647, *Gemma Animæ*, III, XIX.

(3) P. L., CLXXII, 846, *De Epiph. Domini*.

(4) SEE H. O. TAYLOR, *The Mediæval Mind*, 3d Amer. ed. (New York, 1919), II, p. 373.

(5) P. L., CLXXVIII, 413-5, *Sermo in Epiph. Dom.*, IV.

full as an authentic commentary of Chrysostom a fanciful legend traceable to an Arian writer of not earlier than the 6th century. This legend is now printed in the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthæum*, among the works of Chrysostom (1) and is generally referred to as the *Apocryphal Book of Seth* or *Pseudo-Chrysostom*. It is, as its author says, « Etsi non certa, non tamen destruyente fidem, sed potius delectante » and it becomes the basis of the most extravagant forms of the legend. The portions utilized by the drama are the following : « Audivi aliquos referentes de quadam scriptura... quoniam erat quædam gens sita in ipso principio orientis juxta Oceanum, apud quos ferebatur quædam scriptura inscripta nomine Seth, de apparitura hac stella et muneribus ei hujusmodi offerendis, quæ per generationes studiosorum hominum, patribus referentibus filiis suis, habebatur deducta. Itaque elegerunt seipsos duodecim quosdam ex ipsis studiosiores, et amatores mysteriorum cœlestium, et posuerunt seipsos ad expectationem stellæ illius : et si quis moriebatur ex eis, filius ejus, aut aliquis propinquorum, qui ejusdem voluntatis inveniebatur, in loco constituebatur defuncti. Dicebantur autem magi lingua eorum, quia in silentio et voce tacita Deum glorificabant. Hi ergo per singulos annos post messem trituratoriam ascendebant in montem aliquem positum ibi, qui vocabatur Mons Victorialis... in quem ascendentes et lavantes se, orabant et laudabant in silentio Deum tribus diebus, et sic faciebant per singulas generationes, expectantes semper ne forte in generatione sua stella illa beatitudinis oriretur, donec apparuit eis descendens super montem illam Victorialem, habens in se formam quasi pueri parvuli, et super se similitudinem crucis : et loquuta est eis, et docuit eos, et præcepit eis, ut proficiscerentur in Judæam... »

The Chester Play, the Coventry *Pageant of the Weavers*, the Valenciennes *Passion en rime franchoise*, the Eger

(1) P. G., LVI, 637.

Play, all make detailed use of this legend, and several other plays have elements which are reminiscent of it.

Bernard of Clairvaux (1091-1153) gives a new signification to the gifts : « Auri pretium ob paupertatem ; myrrhæ unguentum ob infantilis, ut assolet, corporis teneritudinem ; thuris odoramentum ob sordidam stabuli mansionem » (1). There is also the first suggestion since the apocryphal *Pseudo-Matthew* that Joseph was present at the Adoration, in the words « nunquid aula est stabulum, thronus præsepium, curiæ frequentia Joseph et Maria ? (2) ».

Peter Comestor (d. 1179) in his *Historia Scholastica* calls the star : « tunc creatam... discretam a cæteris, et in splendore, quia eam lux diurna non impedit ; et in loco, quia neque in firmamento cum stellis minoribus erat, neque in æthere cum planetis sed in ære vicinas terras tenebat vias ; et in motu, quia prius immobilis super Judæam, magis dedit signum veniendi in Judæam, qui ex deliberatione sua Jerusalem tanquam caput Judææ, adierunt. Quibus egressis, tunc primo motu notabili præcessit eos stella ; quæ facto officio mōx esse desiit (3) ».

One Ms. of the *Historia Scholastica* (4) gives all three forms of the names of the Three Kings, the Latin form of which was omitted by Zacharias Chrysopolitanus and Werner of St. Blasien (cf. supra) :

« *Hebraice* : Appelus, Amerus, Damasius.

Græce : Galgalat, Magalath, Sarachim.

Latine : Balthassar, Gaspar, Melchior ». (This inversion of Hebrew and Greek is followed also later by the *Legenda Aurea*).

Helinandus (b. c.1160-d. after 1229) is the first writer after Abelard to quote the *Pseudo-Chrysostom*.

(1) P. L., CLXXXIII, 751, *Sententiæ*.

(2) P. L., CLXXXIII, 145, *Sermo in Epiph. Dom.*

(3) P. L., CXCVIII, 1542 (Citing Fulgentius, though the passage is not found in the Migne ed. of Fulgentius).

(4) Cf. S. BERGER, *op. cit.*

He gives five ways in which the star was different from other stars, instead of Chrysostom's four and Comestor's three : « Erant autem in illa stella quinque notabilia : *Tempus*, quia de die lucebat, non de nocte. *Locus*, quia non in firmamento fixa erat cum cæteris stellis, nec prope firmamentum errabat cum planetis, sed in sublunari regione prope terram iter sibi injunctum peragebat. *Motus*, quia non movebatur cum firmamento ab oriente in occidentem, nec cum planetis motu contrario... sed motu singulari et proprio ab oriente in meridiem. *Claritas*, quia non impediabatur lux ejus diurna a lumine solis, sed sola cum sole lucebat. *Magnitudo*, quia altior erat et altior apparebat omnibus aliis, præter solem et lunam (1). »

Innocent III (d. 1216) says that the star was « in multis notabilem et discretam » but mentions only two ways : « lux solis eam non obumbrabat, nec in firmamento cum sideribus erat, nec cum planetis in aethere ; sed in aere sublimiori, vicina terris, immobilis permanebat » (2). He follows Peter Comestor in general but is the first to connect the journey on dromedaries with the prophecy of Isaiah LX, 6 : Inundatio camelorum operiet te, dromedarii Madian et Ephä.

Albertus Magnus (c. 1193-1280) in his *Enarrationes in Evang. Matth.*, quotes the *Pseudo-Chrysostom*, and concerning the number of the Magi, says : « scitur quod plures fuerunt nescitur tamen quot fuerunt numero, tamen tota ecclesia reputat tres fuisse viros sapientissimos » (3) and concerning the tradition of the Magi as Kings : « Reges fuerint, haberi potest ex Psalm. LXXII, 10-11. Tota etiam ecclesia testatur eos reges fuisse » (4).

To Chrysostom's differences in the star, he adds two,

(1) *P. L.*, CCXII, 514, *In Epiph. Di.*, I.

(2) *P. L.*, CCXVII, 485, *Sermo in solemnitate Apparitionis*.

(3) *Opera Omnia*, ed. Aug. Borgnet (Paris, 1893), XX, 61-4.

(4) *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 60.

its nature and meaning, which, however, are not mentioned in the drama.

Thomas Aquinas (c.1225-1274) in the *Summa* (1) quotes Chrysostom in differentiating the star from all others, but divides Chrysostom's third difference into two, making five instead of four points of difference.

The account of Vincent of Beauvais (d. 1264) in his *Speculum Historiale* (2) is merely that of Peter Comestor, to which is added that of the *Pseudo-Chrysostom*.

In the *Meditationes Vitæ Christi*, long falsely attributed to John of Fidanza, known as Bonaventura (3) we find in the chapter *De Ephiphania* : « De primo opere, sc. de Magorum adventu ad Christum, non est intentionis meæ narrare moralitates et expositiones, quæ sic diligenter per sanctos traditæ sunt. Qualiter ergo venerunt Magi... et quid inter eos et Herodem actum sit, et de aliis hujusmodi, legas textum Evangelii et sanctorum expositiones et invenies. Ego enim in hoc et in aliis vitæ Christi actibus intendo... ».

As the word « actibus » suggests, pseudo-Bonaventura's treatment of the subject lends itself to dramatic action ; and this of a new type, one which reflects the emotional fervor which had indeed appeared centuries before in Ephraim and Augustine, but had found no place in the dry theological « moralitates et expositiones » until it was rekindled by Bernard. There is much of Bernard's expression of devotion in pseudo-Bonaventura, but in the latter's detailed narrative, full of a human, personal element, there is more material from which the dramatist could draw. « Venerunt ergo isti tres reges, cum multitudine magna et honorabili comitiva et sunt ante illud tugurium in quo natus est Dominus Jesus. Domina sentit strepitum et tumultum et accipit

(1) *Summa Theologica* (Romæ, 1888-1918), *Pars tertia*, *Quæstio* 36, Art. VII.

(2) Pub. Mentellin, (1473), Lib. 7, T. Octaviani Augusti Cap. XCI-II.

(3) *Opera Omnia* (Lugduni, 1668), tome VI. For a discussion of the authorship of the *Meditationes* see *S. Bonaventuræ Opera Omnia* (Quaracchi, 1902), X, 25.

puerum. Intrant illi domunculam et genuflectunt et adorant Dominum puerum Jesum reverenter. Honorant eum ut Regem et adorant ut Dominum. Vide quam magna fuit eorum fides. Quid enim erat credere quod ille puerulus sic viliter indutus cum paupercula matre inventus, et in loco sic abiecto, sine societate, sine familia, sine omni ornatu, esset Rex et Deus verus? Stant ergo genuflexi coram eo, colloquuntur cum Domina... Quærunt ab ea de conditionibus istius pueri. Domina narrat : et illi omnia credunt. Conspice bene ipsos, quia reverenter et curialiter loquuntur et audiunt. Conspice et Dominam quia cum rubore in verbis, et oculis ad terram demissis, ac cum verecundia loquitur, non delectatur loqui nec videri... Conspice et puerum Jesum... et illi multum delectantur in eo, tam visu mentali... quam corporali, quia speciosus erat præ filiis hominum. Tandem consolatione magna recepta, offerunt eidem aurum, thus et myrrham, aperientes thesauros suos... sc. quilibet illorum illa tria in maxima quantitate... Alias enim pro parva oblatione non oportuisset aperiri thesauros, quia parva de levi habuissent ad manus senascalli eorum. Et tunc reverenter et devote osculati sunt pedes ejus... Signavit etiam eos et benedixit. Illi ergo se inclinantes, et valefacientes, cum magno gaudio recesserunt. »

Jacobus a Voragine in the *Legenda Aurea* (1) (written c. 1280-90), in the three chapters on the Nativity, the Innocents and The Epiphany, gives the most exhaustive summary of purely theological tradition on the subject, but adds nothing new except material relating to the alleged finding of the bodies of the Three Kings in the East by St. Helena, mother of Constantine, and their translation succesively to Constantinople, to Milan, and finally to Cologne, where they become the object of deep devotion.

(1) Ed. Graesse (Breslau, 1890), pp. 88-94. Cap. XIV. *De Epiph Domini*.

A metrical version of the Pseudo-Matthew, edited by A. Vögtlin under the title : *Vita B. V. M. et Salvatoris rythmice* (1) and, according to the editor, written probably in the first half of the 13th century, contains an account of some miracles which are also related in the Eger play, and of a conversation between Joseph and the Magi similar to that in the Chester play.

The miracles related here occur later, likewise, in John of Hildesheim's *Historia Trium Regum* (2) where they are ascribed to Germanus Historiographus and Theophilus (3). Kehr (4) in discussing their appearance in Walther von Rheinau's *Marienleben*, says they occur elsewhere in literature only once, and once in art. Duriez (5) notes their appearance in the Eger play, and in a Ms. of St. Gall, no. 966, published by Klapper (6), but says that he has not been able to find the source. Since there is no record of the publication of Germanus and Theophilus, the appearance in the *Vita B. V. M. Salvatoris*, is therefore the earliest form which has been published, and possibly the source.

Here the miracles are related as follows :

In Magorum regione qui tunc advenerunt
Stella duce munera Jesuque tulerunt,
Fiebant mirabilia quedam et portenta,
Que scribi pro misteriis hec poterant attenta.
Horum unus assydam (7) domi nutriebat
Et eam domesticam facere studebat ;

(1) Vol. CLXXX, *Litt. Ver. in Stuttgart* (1888), pp. 69-76.

(2) HORSTMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

(3) For a discussion of these two writers, see Max Pöpke, *Das Marienleben des Schweizer's Werner* (Palæstra, LXXXI, Berlin, 1913), p. 27.

(4) *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

(5) *Op. cit.*, p. 254.

(6) *Das St. Galler Spiel von der Kindheit Jesu* (Breslau, 1904) p. 125 (Germanistische Abhandlungen, XXI).

(7) For this word, derived from the Hebrew *hasidah*, « stork », understood here as meaning « ostrich », cf. Du Cange and Diefenbach, s. v. ASSIDA, and Guillaume Le Clerc, *Le Bestiaire*, ed. R. Reinsch (*Altfrz. Bibl.*, XIV ; Leipzig, 1892), p. 439, s. v. ASSIDA.

Hec avis ova gemina solito ponebat
 Que sicut eius exigit natura confovebat ;
 Sed cum tempus venerat educationis
 Monstrum exit ab ovis huius structionis ;
 Ex uno leo prodiit, ex altero fit agnus ;
 De quo fit stupor omnibus atque timor magnus.
 Referri bene potest hoc ad integritatem
 Virginis et filii ad humanitatem,
 Qui fuit agnus innocens mortem patiendo
 Et fuisse scribitur leo resurgendo.

Alter Magus aromatum hortum complantatum
 Habuit in quo balsamum colebat propagatum ;
 In unum balsamitico stipite crescebat
 Eiusdam herba surculus, quam nemo cognoscebat,
 Vitis habens folia in supremo florem
 Iocundum atque roseum sed rosa pulchriorem,
 Crevitque folliculus floris in supremo
 Quid portaret germinis hoc sciebat nemo.
 Sed crescens hic folliculus mox dilatabatur
 Et paulatim maturescens per seque rumpebatur,
 Et prodiit avicula columbæ simulata
 Ac humanas edidit voces hec affata :
 « Natus est de virgine deus et creator
 Celi, terre, marium et hominum salvator ».

Uxor Magi tertii genuit infantem
 De nato Jesu maximum signum propalantem :
 Mox ut puer natus est supra pedes stabat,
 Profecte loquens de Jesu nato sic clamabat :
 « Natus sum, ut moriar, ego nam nascendo
 Nasciturum seculi dominum ostendo ;
 Ex unius virginis utero non tacto,
 Et ex illa sumpta carne de verbo dei facto.
 Qui post annos est triginta atque tres passurus
 Pro cunctisque supplicium mundum redempturus ».
 Ergo post triginta dies et tres moribatur.

Unlike the original Pseudo-Matthew, each king gave all three gifts :

Aurum, mirram atque thus singuli dederunt
 Hec tria quivis obtulit, nam mistica fuerunt.
 Jesus puer videbatur manus elevare,
 Et est visus quasi munus illorum acceptare.
 Nam ad eos manum suam dexteram erexit,
 Tanquam ipsos benedicens ad eosque respexit.
 Gemmas, byssum, purpuram ipsamque decebant.
 J seph ut nuticium infantis honorabant.

Ex argento munera pulchra sibi dabant.
 Ipsam Joseph in secreto seorsum convocantes,
 Ab eoque de pueri statu perscrutantes ;
 Ipsis qui misterium totum referebat,
 Et esse matrem puerum rursum adorantes
 Recedeuntque cum gaudio matremque salutantes.

In the 14th century, the commentary of Nicholas of Lyra (1270-1340) (1) and the narratives of the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis* (2) (written c. 1324) (3) and of Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi* (4) (written c. 1370) are detailed but add nothing new to the substance of the legend.

Finally, the most exhaustive account containing both theological and extra-theological tradition which could have been used by mediæval dramatists, is that of John of Hildesheim. According to C. Horstmann, who edited one Latin Ms. and two English translations (5) the *Historia Trium Regum* was written between 1364 and 1375. Kehrler (6), Klapper (7), and Karl Simrock (8) publish German translations, and Brunet (9) testifies to the number of French editions of this popular version of the legend.

The foundation is the version of Pseudo-Chrysostom, but there are various additional elements which are adopted by the drama. The name *Vaus*, English *Vaws*, and German *Vagus*, is the name usually given, instead

(1) *Postillæ* (Romæ, 1471-2), *In Matth.*, II.

(2) Ed. J. Ph. Berjeau (London, 1861), pp. 12-13.

(3) For a discussion of the probable date and authorship of the *S. H. S.* and *Vita Christi*, see P. PERDRIZET, *Etude sur le Speculum Humanæ Salvationis* (Paris, 1908), pp. 34-46. His opinion concerning the authorship of the *S. H. S.* is refuted by K. POLHEIM, *Anz. f. deutsch. Altertum*, XXXIV, 57-9.

(4) Ed. Bolard, Rigollot et Carnandet (Paris and Rome, 1865).

(5) *Op. cit.*,

(6) *Op. cit.*, pp. 82-95.

(7) *Op. cit.*, p. 125.

(8) *Die Legende von den heiligen Drei Königen*, in *Auserlesene deutsche Völksbücher* (Frankfurt am Main, n. d.), I, 61.

(9) *Manuel du libraire*, III, *Liber de Gestis* ; and V, *Vie des Trois Rois*.

of *Mons Victorialis*, to the hill on which the twelve astrologers watched for the star, although one English Ms. follows the *Pseudo-Chrysostom* more closely with : « the hill which was also cleped the hill of Victory (1) » and one Latin Ms. : « ex tunc quidam mons nomine Vaus, qui ibidem victorialis dicitur (2) ».

Certain Mss. contain the miracles which happened to the Three Kings before they started on their quest, referred to above in connection with the *Vita B. V. M. rythmice* (pp. 31-2).

In all the versions of the *Historia Trium Regum* the star is seen at one time in the form of an eagle, as in the *Coventry Pageant of the Weavers*.

The perplexing discrepancy between the « *duodecim studiosiores* » of all Western writers after Abelard who quote the *Pseudo-Chrysostom*, is ingeniously explained by the *Historia* as follows : « et tunc tres reges, qui in partibus Indie, Caldee et Persidis regnabant, de ipsa stella informati, et per astrologos instructi... ad adorandum regem natum se preparauerunt » (4).

(1) HORSTMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 213.

(3) *Ibid.*, See pp. 37, 47, where they are ascribed to *Germanus historiographus* and *Theophilus scriptor gestorum Christi*, and also KLAPPER and KEHRER, *loc. cit.*

(4) HORSTMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

THE LEGEND IN EARLY FRENCH WRITINGS.

In early French writings the legend appears in detail only in narrative poems called by Paul Meyer *Poèmes de Marie et de Jésus* or *l'Evangile de l'Enfance*, which are based on the Apocryphal Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew. The legend is also found in metrical versions of the Bible such as the so-called *Bible* or *Romans de Sapience* of Herman de Valenciennes (12th century) and the *Bible des Sept Eslaz du Monde* of Geffroi de Paris (written in 1243); (1) and in occasional prose versions which apparently derive from these poems.

The poems vary from short, almost verbal translations of the Latin Apocryphal Gospel, such as the version published by R. Reinsch under the title *Dichtungen Gautiers von Coinsy, Geburt und Kindheil Jesu* (2), and that published by J. Huber, *L'Evangile de l'Enfance en provençal* (3), to ample narrations lengthened by dialogue and repetition. The *Grenoble Ms.* 1137 and the *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden Supra Ms.* 38, both published by E. Gast, *Die beiden Redaktionen des Evangile de l'Enfance* (4), illustrate in an interesting way the two types and the process of amplification.

These four versions follow the Pseudo-Matthew more closely than any others which have been published.

(1) Cf. PAUL MEYER, in *Notices et Extraits*, t. XXXIX, I^{re} partie, (1909), p. 257.

(2) *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen u. Literaturen*, LXVII (1882), 252-3.

(3) *Romanische Forschungen*, XXII (1908), 932-4.

(4) Greifswald Dissertation, 1909.

The versions of another group have points of similarity which differentiate them from these four and relate them to the dramatic versions of the legend. The texts in this second group are :

1. Paris, *Bib. Nat. Ms. f. fr. 1526*, which forms part of the *Bible des Sept Estaz du Monde* of Geffroi de Paris (1).

2. Cambridge, *Fitzwilliam Museum*, (formerly *Hamilton*) Ms. 273 (2)

3. Montpellier, *Bib. de l'Ecole de Médecine*, Ms. 350. (3)

4. London, *Brit. Mus., Coll. Vit. D III* (4).

5. Paris, *Bib. Nat. Ms. f. fr. 2162*, which forms part of Herman of Valenciennes, *Romans de Sapience*, and which Burkowitz, the editor of ten other Mss. (5), omits from his edition when he reaches the Three Kings episode, since it varies considerably from the other Mss.

Evidently derived from these detailed narrative poems, are three abridged versions inserted in :

6. *Aiol* (6) v. 2972-3005.

7. Philippe Mousquet, *Chronique rimée*, (7) v. 10605-v. 10647.

8. Ste. Geneviève, *Jeu des Trois Rois*, as part of the « Sermon » (8), pp. 81-84.

(1) Pub. by Friedrich Intemann, *Das Verhältniss des Nouveau Testament von Geffroi de Paris zu der « Conception Notre Dame » von Wace, zu der Hs. Add. 15606 des Brit. Mus. und zur Hamilton Hs. No. 273 des Fitzwilliam Mus. zu Cambridge*, Greifswald Diss. 1907 ; and by Emil Krappe, *Christi Leben von seiner Geburt bis zur Geschichte der Samariterin, Altfr. Version nach den Hss. Arsenal 5204, Bib. Nat. f. fr. 9588, und den entsprechenden Kapiteln der Bible von Geufroi de Paris*, Greifswald Diss., 1911.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Pub. by C. Chabaneau, « Le Romanz de Saint Fanuel », *Rev. des Langues Romanes*, XXVIII, 3^e sér., XIV (1885), 203-6, and Paris, 1889.

(4) Fragment pub. by Paul Meyer, *Romania*, XVI (1887), 255-8.

(5) Hans Burkowitz, *La Bible von Herman de Valenciennes, Teil III*, Greifswald Diss. 1914. See Introduction, p. 17.

(6) Ed. by Normand et Raynaud, (Paris, 1877). *S. A. T. F.*

(7) Ed. by Baron de Reiffenberg (Bruxelles, 1836-38), I, 411-2.

(8) Ed. by A. Jubinal, *Mystères inédits du XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1837), II,

A prose version, likewise apparently based on the narrative poem, is found in Jean d'Outremeuse, *Ly Myreur des histors*, (1) I, pp. 345-7.

Of these, the « Sermon » of the Ste. Geneviève play is especially interesting in connection with the drama since it proves that the dramatist drew directly from the narrative poem, although in the play proper he departs considerably from his own version of the poem. Emile Roy (2) has pointed out the narrative Biblical « poèmes de jongleur » (3) as a source, together with the liturgical drama, of the Ste. Geneviève *Jeu des Trois Rois*, without, however, distinguishing between the direct inspiration of the « Sermon » and the variations in the play proper.

The general outline of the legend is the same in all of these versions of the narrative poem of the Infancy based on the *Pseudo-Matthew*, but certain details which are utilized by the drama appear only sporadically in the poems, although each one frequently enough to make it seem probable that the redactors chose the elements from a common source of tradition which united them all.

Paul Meyer, who published extracts from several versions of the Biblical narrative poems, stated that none of the Mss. which he had found seemed to have the poem in its original form. « Entre ces diverses compositions (i. e. *St. Fanuel, Marie et Jésus, la Passion, la Descente en Enfer, l'Assomption*) celle qui paraît avoir été le plus souvent remaniée est *l'Histoire de Marie et de Jésus...* Les manuscrits offrent chacun des divergences considérables de rédaction et il ne semble

(1) Ed. by Ad. Borgnet, *Corps des Chroniques liégeoises II* (Bruxelles, 1864).

(2) *Le Mystère de la Passion en France du XIV^e au XVI^e siècle* (Dijon et Paris, 1903), p. 25*.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 13. « On sait qu'au moyen âge la Bible rimée faisait partie du répertoire des jongleurs aussi bien que les chansons de geste ».

pas que la forme originale se soit conservée dans aucun de ces trois textes (*Montpellier, Grenoble and Arsenal*) (1). Je n'ai pas étudié d'assez près les autres manuscrits, qui offrent aussi d'importantes variantes, pour pouvoir dire si aucun d'eux contient l'œuvre sous une forme non altérée. » (2) Concerning the date of the British Museum fragment he says : « L'écriture du manuscrit doit être rapportée au milieu du XIII^e siècle environ. La composition du poème pourrait, ce me semble, être placée au commencement du même siècle ou vers la fin du précédent. » (3). Since, therefore, the Three Kings incident in these poems of the Infancy appears in manifold versions in manuscripts of the 13th or late 12th century, which are sufficiently related to prove that they are derivatives, it seems safe to posit as a common source a 12th century original which united the various elements from which the later editors chose.

The elements in these poems which are of greatest importance to the dramatic development of the legend are :

1. The Three Kings set out independently :

Montpellier, v. 1820 :

Ainc nel sot nus de ses amis

Cambridge, v. 97 :

ne l'un de l'autre ne savoit
dont il venoit ne ou aloit

Bib. Nat., Ms I536 :

v. 1536 :

seigneurs erent de .III. contrees
moult longteignement devisees...
donc demanderent de leur nons

(1) *Grenoble*, pub. by Gast, *op. cit.* ; Ms. 5201 de l'*Arsenal*, pub. by Intemann, *op. cit.*, as a variant.

(2) *Romania*, XVI (1887), 232-3.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 252.

Sainte Gen., « Sermon » :

l'uns de l'autre riens ne savoit.

2. They are on a pilgrimage :

Cambridge, v. 56 :

et premiers pelerinage fissent
chascuns s'esmeut de son roion
l'escherpe au col et son bourdon.

(Of the first line there is a Variant form in *Brit. Mus. Ms. Add.* 15603 (1).

et qui premiers pelerin furent).

Bib. Nat., Ms. f. fr. 2162, fol. 45 :

mont haut pelerinage ont tout trois entrepris

Grenoble, v. 146. (Herod in dismissing the kings) :

feites votre pelerinnage

Sainte Gen. « Sermon », p. 81 :

anssy se mistrent au chemin
ces .III. roys comme pelerin

3. They meet :

Bib. nat., f. fr. 2162 fol. 45 :

tous trois les mist ensamble al trepas d'une voie

Cambridge, v. 91 :

et assamblés a un chemin

Montpellier, v. 1823 :

a un chemin sont assemblé
tot li troi roy et encontré

Bib. Nat., Ms. 1526, v. 1558 :

s'assemblerent li .III. baron

Brit. Mus., v. 36 :

les reis se asemlerent tuz comunement

Aiol, v. 2976 :

tous trois les asamblastes sans mesproson

(1) INTEMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

Sainte Gen., « Sermon », p. 82:

et puis apres s'y asamblèrent

Ph. Mousquet, v, 10612:

s'asanblèrent tot troi ensamble

4. They make one another's acquaintance : (*in Bib. Nat.* 1526, v. 1564, they ask one another's names) and resolve to proceed together :

Brit. Mus., v. 37-8 :

et issi le purvirent a lur parlement
ke il irrunt quere et porterent present

Cambridge, v. 64 :

li. III. roi lor conseil ont pris...

v. 106 :

or alons tant et jour et nuit
que nous veons le creatour

Montpellier, v. 1825 .

li uns a l'autre demanda
quels homs il est et ou il va

ce dist li tiers : « E je i vois
or nous conduie Dex li rois »

Sainte Gen., p. 82:

et ce mistrent en une route.

If, as has been assumed, the tradition of these poems dates from as early as the 12th century, the development of points 1,3 and 4 — which are implicit in the Biblical narrative after the accomodation of Psalm LXXII to Matthew II has defined the Magi as kings coming from different countries — is made here for the first time except for the rubrics in the Rouen (1 et 2) and Orléans (2) liturgical plays, where we find :

(1). Ed. by Karl Young, « A contribution to the History of the Liturgical Drama at Rouen, » *Modern Philology*, VI (1908), 220.

(2) Ed. by E. Du Méril, *Les Origines latines du théâtre moderne* (Paris, 1849), pp. 153, 164.

« Ex tribus partibus ante altare convenient », and
« prodeuntes quisque de angulo suo ».

The word « pilgrimage » of point 2, occurs as « peregrinatio » in the translation of Chrysostom, (1) and Augustine refers to the Magi as « isti peregrini », (2) but does not reappear before Alain of Lille (c. 1128-1203) (3) and Garnier of Langres (c. 1200) (4) except in these narrative poems. In the drama it occurs, in addition to the Ste. Geneviève « Sermon », as already noted, also in the Ste. Gevenière play :

.I. roy en my ce chemin
Tout seul comme.I. pelerin. (5)

It is found also in the St Gall *Kindheit Jesu* :
v. 517-8.

har sint dri herren komen
die wâren als bilgrîn (6).

It recurs in the *Misterio de los Reyes Magos* : (7)
v. 77.

imos in romeria aquel rei adorar.

Certain phrases of the Latin *Historia Trium Regum* of John of Hildesheim suggest that these French narrative poems must have been one of his sources, a fact which seems hitherto to have escaped notice. In 1358 he was appointed « biblicus » (8) or, as we should say « instructor in Biblical exegesis », at the University of Paris (9) and probably at that time became acquainted with the French versions of the legend, which

(1) P. G., LVII, 63 *In Matthaëum Homilia* VI.

(2) P. L., XXXVIII, 1029, *Sermo in Epiph. Di.*

(3) P. L., CCX, 236, *Sententiae*.

(4) P. L. CCV, 624, *In Apparitione Di.*

(5) JUBINAL, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

(6) KLAPPER, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

(7) Ed. by R. Menéndez Pidal, *Revista de Archivos y Museos, Epoca* 3, IV (1900), pp. 453-62.

(8) Cf. DUCANGE., s. v. *biblicus*.

(9) See HORSTMANN, *op. cit.*, Intro., p. XIII.

he himself refers to as one of the sources of the *Historia* : « Libros caldayce et hebrayce scriptos... qui in Aëon in gallicum fuerunt translati » (1) The Latin phrases reminiscent of the points noted in the narrative poems are :

1. Tunc quiuus rex, de alio adhuc ignarus, versus ciuitatem pergebat...

3. Cum uenissent ad triuium... Tunc Jasper Tharsis... superuenit : et sic in hoc triuio hij tres Reges conuenerunt, et licet se nunquam mutuo uidissent...

4. et cum exposita sibi mutuo causa sui itineris in proposito concordassent... et ciuitatem Jherusalem intrauerunt. (2)

One other element of some of the French narrative poems occurs in them undoubtedly for the first time.

5. When the kings meet, they decide on what offerings they will carry :

Brit. Mus., v. 38 :

Ke il irrunt et porterent present

Bib. Nat., Ms. 1526, v. 1579 :

s'a l'un a l'autre demandé
quels donz portent et quiex presens

Cambridge :

.III. offrandes li porteroient
s'il pueent, que li offeroient.

In this connection a motif occurs which is not found elsewhere in a possible dramatic source except in a single line of one hymn, and, with variations, in some of the manuscripts of Marco Polo's *Travels*. According to this tradition, the gifts are offered as tests of the Christ Child's identity, instead of in adoration, as symbols of faith, as has been the orthodox tradition since the second century (3)

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 215.

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 231-232.

(3) See Appendix I, A.

This motif occurs in six of the poems : *Brit. Mus.*, *Montpellier*, *Cambridge*, *Bib. Nat.* 1526, *Bib. Nat.* 2162, and *Aiol*, and one of them, *Montpellier*, even comments on this curious incident :

v. 1936.

li troi roi furent molt estraigne
qui si ont Dex espermenté
par l'offrande c'ont presenté.

In the drama it occurs fully emphasized in the Spanish *Misterio de los Reyes Magos*, and is suggested in one line of the Ste. Geneviève Play (1).

et de mon tresor aprouvé

The occurrence in the hymn is in v. 12, as follows.
v. 1.

Continet hunc genetrix in gremio

v. 11.

Quae magorum intimavit animo
Ut probetur, deus esset an homo
Auri, thuris atque myrrhae pretio,
Nam sunt mysterio
Tanto regi congruo. (2)

In Marco Polo (1254-1324 or 1325) according to Count Boni (3) and H. Murray, (4) the legend is wanting in the *Pipino*, the *Basle*, and the *Ramusio* versions, but is found in the two *Paris*, the *Della Crusca* and the *Pucci* manuscripts. The version of the *Crusca* Ms. is as follows : « Baltasar, Melchior, Guaspar... portarono tre offerte : oro per sapere s'era signore terreno ; incenso per sapere s'era Iddio; mirra per sapere s'era eternale (5).

(1) JUBINAL, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

(2) Ms. Colmar, 12th. cent. pub. by Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, (Freiburg im Br., 1853-55).

(3) Count Baldelli Boni, *Il Milione* (Florence, 1827), p. 17.

(4) *The Travels of Marco Polo* (New York, 1870), p. 190.

(5) Count Boni, *loc. cit.*

In the Yule edition, (1) in the Roux French edition (2) in the Stockholm Ms. (3) and, according to D. Olivieri, (4) in the Berlin Ms. Hamilton 424, the myrrh is offered in order to learn whether the child is a physician, probably for the sake of the pun : « se il prient mire qu'il est mire » (9) Thomas Wright (9) gives the variation « mortal man » as does the Latin version in Roux (5).

The occurrence of the motif according to which the offerings are made as tests of identity, rather than in adoration, may be attributed, probably, to the influence of the French narrative poems, an influence not at all surprising in a work originally written in French at Marco Polo's dictation by a Gallicising Italian, Rusticiano da Pisa, better known as Rusticien de Pise, and as author of a vast compilation, in French, of the Romances of the Round Table.

The motif is expressed in detail as follows in the unpublished Ms. of the « Bible » of Herman de Valenciennes, Bib. Nat. f. fr., 2162, fol. 46. n° :

Grant sens et grant porpens nos covient il avoir
 Se del enfant volons le vretet bien savoir.
 Cil enfes glorieus mont grant pooir ara
 Et Dex et rois sans faille et mortel hom sera.
 S'ains que de lui partons, ne savons bien le voir,
 Nus hom nel nos pora ja torner a savoir.
 Or vos en vorai dire trestout mon ensient.
 Bien uel que m'amendes se je y faut de noient.
 Quant venrons a l'enfant.III. offrandes ferons,
 Par quoy, si que moy samble, le voir bien connisterons.
 Si chu glorieus enfes ces.III. offrandes prent
 Et Dex et hom mortes et rois iert vraiment.

!

(1) *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 3d. ed. revised by H. Cordier (London, 1903), I, 78.

(2) *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires*, pp. la Soc. de Géographie, I, *Voyages de Marco Polo* (Paris, 1824), pp. 28, 319.

(3) *Le Livre de M. P.* Fac-simile d'un Ms. du XIV^e S. (Stockholm, 1882).

(4) *Il Milione* (Paris, 1912), p. 26.

(5) *The Travels of Marco Polo* (London, 1853), p. 47.

fol. 46. V^o

Ces offrandes regarde li petits Jhesucris.
A toutes a tendu, e vos les rois espris
Del amor Damredeu, et de ferme creance ;
Bien croient que c'est Dex, n'en sont mais en doutance.

A final noteworthy characteristic of these French narrative poems is that five of the versions, including the *Ste. Geneviève* « Sermon », omit the Biblical scene of Herod's consultation with the scribes. In one of these five versions, *Montpellier*, the scene takes place later, after the Adoration, as an introduction to the narrative of the Slaughter of the Innocents. It does not occur at all in *Ste. Gen.* or *Aiol*, and it is impossible to tell about *Bril. Mus.*, as the fragment is mutilated, nor about *Bib. Nat.* or *Cambridge*, as the part containing the Slaughter of the Innocents narrative has not been published.

THE RELATION OF THE *REYES MAGOS* TO THE LATIN LITURGICAL THREE KINGS PLAYS

The oldest Three Kings play in the vernacular is the Spanish *Auto* or *Misterio de los Reyes Magos*, the best edition of which is the one published by R. Menéndez Pidal in the *Revista de Archivos y Museos*, *Epoca* 3, IV (1900) pp. 453-62. In this edition, Menéndez Pidal ascribes the unique manuscript of the *Misterio* to the middle of the 13th century, but in his *Gramática del Cid* (1) published in 1908, he ascribes the manuscript on scribal and linguistic grounds to a date about the middle of the 12th century. The single manuscript is merely a fragment which breaks off abruptly at the end, and, to judge from the absence of rhyme lines and lack of continuity in its structure, it is apparently incomplete in the body of the text as well.

As Fitzmaurice-Kelly has said (2), the *Misterio* though by no means lacking in positive qualities, is interesting above all from an historical point of view as the unique example of the Spanish drama before the 15th century. This isolated position of the *Reyes Magos* adds to the difficulty of determining its source, a question which is of interest to the study of comparative, as well as of Spanish literature. Does this isolated fragment represent an independent national drama deriving from offices of the church developed within the Mozarabic liturgy, which in Toledo, where the manus-

(1) *Cantar de Mio Cid*, I (Madrid 1908), p. 144.

(2) *La Littérature espagnole*, 2^e éd. (Paris, 1913), p. 14.

cript was found, remained independent of the Roman liturgy until nearly 1085, but in which no record or examples of dramatic offices survive, or does it derive from the same cosmopolitan and international liturgical offices of the Church of Rome from which the early French, English and German plays derive?

Two of the critics who have studied the *Reyes Magos* in detail, Arturo Graf in his *Studii Drammatici* (1) and K. A. M. Hartmann in his *Ueber das altspanische Dreikönigsspiel*, (2) incline to the belief that although no example has been preserved, liturgical plays may have had a similar process of evolution from the Mozarabic liturgy in Spain as those from the Roman liturgy in other countries, and that the points in which the *Reyes Magos* differs from the Latin liturgical Magi plays may be accounted for by the difference in its liturgical antecedents.

Baist, in his review of Hartmann's dissertation, (3) somewhat arbitrarily rejects this possibility. In 'such different soil as the so-called Mozarabic and the Gallican rite, similar plants could not grow', and yet the suggestion which he makes of the desirability of studying in detail the relations between the Spanish play and the Latin Epiphany plays, betrays the fact that these relations are not too apparent and that his statements are not supported by positive evidence.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly and Morel-Fatio think that the similarities in phraseology of three lines found in the *Reyes Magos* and in certain Latin liturgical plays, and the historical probabilities, make it evident that the Spanish play is the translation or imitation of a Latin office brought into Spain with the imposition of the Roman rite.

Fitzmaurice-Kelly says: « Le Misterio de los Reyes

(1) (Turin, 1878), p. 251-77. *Il Mistero e le prime forme dell'Auto sacro in Ispagna*.

(2) Leipzig dissertation (Bautzen, 1879).

(3) *ZRP.*, IV (1880), 443-455.

Magos procède d'un des offices latins en usage à Limoges, Rouen, Nevers, Compiègne et Orléans ; le motif en est la légende des rois mages et les offices franco-latins sont en partie des interprétations de traditions pieuses orales, en partie des amplifications de l'apocryphe *Protevangelium Jacobi Minoris* et de l'*Historia de Nativitate Mariæ et de Infantia Salvatoris*. Ces pièces liturgiques franco-latines... pénétrèrent en Espagne avec les Bénédictins de Cluny... La provenance de l'auto est indiquée par le fait qu'il contient une traduction des trois mêmes vers de Virgile intercalés dans le texte du rite orléanais. Voilà pour la source » (1).

Morel-Fatio calls this 'translation' « une analogie frappante » (2), and continues : « D'autres preuves évidentes de l'imitation n'existent pas », but concludes : « En tout cas il y a pour le moment en faveur de l'imitation française une présomption assez forte ».

Professor Ford in his *Old Spanish Readings* (3) says : « without impugning Morel-Fatio's contention, we may point out that the verbal resemblances between the Spanish passage and the two Latin passages are not very great ».

Since the opinions of these critics are conflicting and the similarity of phraseology is not convincing, and since the historical fact that the Roman liturgical plays were introduced into Spain together with the Roman rite, is counterbalanced by the fact that the Mozarabic rite subsisted in Toledo until nearly the date ascribed to the manuscript of the *Reyes Magos*, it has been necessary to give the « etwas tiefergehende Behandlung » suggested by Baist (4) and according to him avoided by Hartmann, in order to determine whether there exists any relation between the Spanish play and the

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

(2) *Romania*, IX (1880), 467-8.

(3) P. 106.

(4) *Zeitschrift*, IV, 444.

Latin offices, before being able to approach satisfactorily the question of the source of the play.

The Latin Three Kings plays have been studied exhaustively. H. Anz in his *Die lateinischen Magierspiele* (Leipzig, 1905) has traced the development of the plays from a type form to the most developed plays. Professor Karl Young has supplemented this work by the publication of new texts (1) and bibliographical material, (2) by the explanation of the nature of the Vienna play (3) and by the re-editing, with M. Gustave Cohen, of the text of the Bilsen play. (4) Martin Boehme (5) has made a valuable study of the subject, and P. E. Kretzmann in *The Liturgical Element in the Earliest Forms of the Mediaeval Drama*, (6) has shown in a general way the relations of the Epiphany liturgy to both the liturgical plays and the plays in the vernacular.

The references in the following comparison are to the group of strikingly related texts referred to in Professor Young's bibliography, *Modern Language Notes*, XXVII (1912), 68-70, omitting *Besançon* and *Vienna*, which alone do not follow the type tradition. The expanded type forms published by Anz as *Kombinationstypus* III and IV, and *Erweiterungen des Typus IV*, op. cit. pp. 132-140, contain the text of all the references in the comparison.

The results of a comparison between the Latin liturgical Three Kings plays and the *Reyes Magos* from

(1) « A Contribution to the History of the Liturgical Drama at Rouen » *Mod. Phil.*, VI (1908), 201-227 (*Officium Stellæ*, pp. 208, 212, 220) ; « A New Text of the Officium Stellæ », *M.L.N.*, XXVII (1912), 70 ; « Some Texts of Liturgical Plays » *P.M.L.A.*, XXIV (1909), 296, 325.

(2) *M.L.N.*, XXVII, 68-70 ; *Mod. Phil.*, VI (1908), 224-7.

(3) « The Poema Biblicum of Onulphus », *P.M.L.A.*, XXX (1915), 25-41.

(4) *Romania*, XLIV (1917), 357-372.

(5) *Das lateinische Weihnachtsspiel* (Leipzig, 1916).

(6) *Univ. Minnesota Studies in Language and Literature*, IV (Minneapolis, 1916).

the points of view of 1) phraseology, 2) dramatic structure, 3) content, show that the points which they have in common need not be accounted for by the common liturgical antecedents, but merely by a common source of Biblical narrative and general theological tradition.

In making the comparative study of *phraseology*, a scientific word for word comparison would seem unprofitable, since an entire dissimilarity of vocabulary and phraseology can be established without it by comparing the more obvious words or phrases used to name the same person or to express the same idea.

The first word suggesting itself as essential and frequent in all the plays, is the appellation of the new born Christ. The result of a comparative study shows which words or expressions are common to both the Latin plays and the *Reyes Magos* and which are peculiar to the *Reyes Magos*.

Common to both the Latin plays
and the *Reyes Magos*.

king
God

Peculiar to the *Reyes Magos*

Criador v. 5, 48, 56, 61.
 { de las gentes, v. 6, 57.
 { de todos, v. 25
 senior { de todo el mundo, v. 40.
 { de tierra, v. 84
 { de todas gentes, v. 42
 maior v. 49
 omne v. 39

There is clearly no close relation here, since the only appellations used in common are *God*, without which a mystery play could scarcely be written, and *king*, without which a Herod play would lose its point.

Essential to all Three Kings plays is also the substance of the words in all the Latin plays « Eamus ergo et offeramus ei » the words of the Offertory, since as Chambers points out (1) « the kernel of the whole performance is a dramatized *Offertorium* » A comparison

(1) *The Mediaeval Stage*, II, p. 52.

of the phraseology shows that the similarity is reduced to « let us go »

Latin.

Eamus ergo et inquiramus eum, offerentes ei etc.

Reyes Magos, v. 63.

sil podremos falar

V. 64.

Andemos tras el strela, ueremos el logar

V. 73.

Andemos i asi lo fagamos.

Likewise with the words of Herod occuring in all the plays except *Rouen*, the similitary is the translation of the verb *to go*.

Latin :

Ite et interrogate diligenter de puero et cum

Reyes Magos, v. 103 :

Pus andad i buscad

Latin :

inveneritis renunciate michi ut ego veniens adorem eum

Reyes Magos, v. 104-6 :

i por aqui tornad. Io ala ire, i adorarlo e.

There are indeed, such verbal similitatities as in this passage, *adorem* and *adorar*, and, for example, *dicite* and *dezides*, *queremos* and *quærimus* ; *signo*, *sennal* ; *aurum*, *oro* etc. but could it be otherwise with any Latin and Romance text on the same subject ?

Spanish

Latin

v. 35 o en *escriptura* trubada

v. 125 si iace in *escripto*

v. 128 uostros *escriptos*

v. 137 no lo (fallo) *escripto*

quia *scriptum* didicimus

pagina prophetica

(variant) in prophetis

cūm prophetarum libris

scriptum videritis in libro

in prophetarum lineis

si *scripto*

Here again, the similarity is almost inevitable, as the word *scriptures* is common to both languages, and essential to the narrative.

The stock evidence given in proof of the provenience of the Spanish play from the Latin liturgical plays is the passage referred to by Fitzmaurice-Kelly and Morel-Fatio (cf. *supra* p. 48) as the « translation of the same three lines of Vergil which are found in *Orléans* », and, likewise in *Freising*.

The three texts are :

Vergil, *Æneid*, VIII, 112-4 :

quæ causa subegit

Ignotas tentare vias ? quo tenditis ? inquit,
Qui genus ? unde domo ? pacemne huc fertis an arma ?

Orléans and Freising :

quæ vos causa subegit

Ignotas tentare vias ? quo tenditis ergo ?
Quod genus ? unde domo ? pacemne fertis an arma ?

Reyes Magos v. 79-81 :

Que decides, o ides ? a quin ides buscar ?
de qual terra uenides, o queredes andar ?
Decid me uostros nombres, no m'los querades celar.

The relation between *Vergil* and *Orléans* is evident, but is there the least relation between *Orléans* and the *Reyes Magos* except the question itself of who ?, whence ?, whither ? which any one might ask of any stranger ?

Quæ vos causa.....vias

is not even suggested in the Spanish, which disposes of at least one of Fitzmaurice-Kelly's three lines. *Quo tenditis ergo* and *o ides* or *o queredes andar* — in these the only analogy is the inevitable question of Herod, whither ? *Quod genus* and *decid me uostros nombres* — again the same question, but the Spanish is very far from being a « translation », nor does there even seem to be the « analogie frappante » that Morel-Fatio sees in the whole passage. *Unde domo* and *de qual terra uenides*

have nothing in common as far as the expression of the question is concerned ; *pacemne huc fertis an arma* is not in the Spanish. The translation of three lines is, therefore, reduced to a possible free adaptation of two half lines (Cf. supra, p. 48, Professor Ford's remark).

The two diagrams which follow summarize a comparison of *dramatic action* and of *content*. The points which are peculiar to the Spanish play will be considered in detail later, in an attempt to determine a source of the play, since the points which are common to the *Reyes Magos* and the Latin liturgical plays do not establish any direct relation between them.

Diagram of Action

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1) Common to the Latin liturgical plays and the <i>Reyes Magos</i> | 2) Peculiar to the <i>Reyes Magos</i> |
| 1. a strange star is seen | 1. three independant soli-
loquies (a night, for Bal-
tasar three, elapses) |
| 2. the three Magi meet | 2. Caspar and Baltasar meet
first, Melchior later |
| 3. decide to go together to
make an offering of gold,
frankincense and myrrh | 3. messenger play lacking |
| 4. Magi greet Herod | 4. Magi permanently dismis-
sed before the scene with
the scribes |
| 5. Magi questioned by He-
rod | 5. Herod's monologue |
| 6. Herod sends Magi to
search for the new born
king. | 6. Dispute between the
scribes |
| 7. Question concerning the
prophecy | |

Diagram of Content

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| 1) Common to both | 2) Peculiar to the <i>Reyes Magos</i> |
| 1. star as sign of Christ's co-
ming | 1. star is newly born |
| 2. decision 1) to go to wor-
ship him | 2. Magi as astrologers |
| 2) to offer the
three gifts | |

- | | |
|--|---|
| 3. mystical meaning of the gifts | 3. meaning of star not at first understood |
| 4. Herod asks for proof | 4. doubt 1) must see star a 2nd night
2) gifts as tests of identity |
| 5. answer 1) star the sign
2) have come to adore Christ | 5. time 1) Christ's birth in December
2) appearance of the star 13 days before |
| 6. questions : whither ? whence ? who ? | 6. when did the star appear ? |
| 7. dismissal | 7. names Caspar, Baltasar, Melchior |
| 8. prophecy of Christ's birth found in the Scriptures | 8. prophet Jeremiah |
| | 9. denial of prophecy |
| | 10. dispute between the scribes |

Of the points common to both the liturgical and Spanish plays, 1, 3, 5, 6 and 7 of the comparison of the action, correspond to 1, 2, 5, 7, and 8 of the comparison of content, and the action as well as the substance, fits the word of the Biblical narrative.

The remaining two points common to the action (2 and 4) are almost inevitable in a dramatization.

Of the remaining three points common to the content (3, 4, 6), 3, the mystical meaning of the gifts, as has been shown (cf. Appendix I, A), is common property since the second century, and recurs as often in the Mozarabic liturgy (1) as in the Roman ; the questioning of the Magi by Herod is implicit in the Biblical narrative ; the questions who ? whence ? whither ? are the obvious ones, and, as has been shown, the comparison of the phraseology does not prove any immediate connection.

The conclusion, then, to be drawn from a compa-

(1) Ed. by Cardinal Lorenzana, *Breviarium Gothicum sive Mozarabum*, (Matriti, 1775), p. 85. *In festo apparitionis Domini* (Reprint in P. L., LXXXVI).

rative study of the Latin liturgical Magi plays and the *Reyes Magos*, is that there is no evidence of any direct relation between them. Contrary to Baist, the 'similarities between the two plants' need not be accounted for by the 'liturgical soil in which they grew' but merely by Biblical narrative and common tradition.

Although the points in which the plays are similar are not evidence of any direct relation, the points in which they differ are not, on the other hand, necessarily proof of a different source and, therefore, of the independence of the Spanish play. They may indicate merely the use of non-liturgical elements of the legend, and the greater freedom natural to an individual author writing a non-liturgical play in the vernacular.

The obvious test of this possibility is a further comparison, this time with the other non-liturgical *Benediktbeuern* play, and those plays in the vernacular which are known to derive from the Latin liturgical plays. If these other plays show in general as great divergences, or, more especially, if they show the same divergences, the negative evidence that the Spanish play does not necessarily derive from the Latin liturgical plays would be outweighed in favor of a probable evidence of a common source - the Roman liturgy.

THE RELATION OF THE *REYES MAGOS* TO THE *BENEDIKTBEUERN* TRANSITIONAL LATIN PLAY AND TO THE MEDIAEVAL FRENCH, GERMAN AND ENGLISH THREE KINGS PLAYS

The other Three Kings plays in the vernacular are, like the manuscript of the semi-liturgical Latin *Benediktbeuern* play, all of a later date than that ascribed to the manuscript of the *Reyes Magos*, but there are at least fourteen, in addition to *Benediktbeuern*, which were written not later than the 15th century, and, therefore, still follow the general tradition of the liturgical plays.

Benediktbeuern is found in a manuscript of the 13th century. *St. Gall* and *Maastricht* are ascribed to the 14th century, the French, English, and the two remaining German plays to the 15th century, with the exception of the manuscripts of *Chester* and *Coventry*, which are later.

The texts referred to in the comparative study are the following :

1. Ludus scenicus de Nativitate Christi (1) (*Benediktbeuern*).
2. Le jeu des Trois Rois (2) (*Ste. Geneviève*).
3. La Passion de Semur (3) (*Semur*).

(1) Ed. by J. A. Schmeller, *Carmina burana*, 4th ed. (Breslau, 1904), pp. 80-95 ; and by R. Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, III, 886-895 (Kürschner's Deutsche Nationalliteratur, XIV).

(2) JUBINAL, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-138.

(3) EMILE ROY, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-64.

4. Le Mystère de la Passion d'Arras (1) (*Arras*).
5. Le Mystère de la Passion d'Arnoul Greban (2) (*Greban*).
6. Le Mystère de la Nativité de Chantilly (3) (*Chantilly*).
7. Le Mystère de la Passion en rime franchoise (4) (*Valenciennes*).
8. York Plays (5) XVI and XVII : *The Coming of the Three Kings to Herod* (*York*).
9. Towneley Plays (6) XIV : *The Offering of the Magi* (*Towneley*).
10. Ludus Coventriæ (7) XVII : *Adoration of the Magi* (*Lud. Cov.*).
11. Chester Plays (8) VIII : *Adoration of the Magi* (*Chester*).
12. Coventry Plays (9) *Shearmen and Taylors' Pageant and Weaver's Pageant* (*Coventry S and T., W.*).
13. St Gall Spiel von der Kindheit Jesu (10) (*St. Gall*).
14. Egerer Fronleichnamsspiel (11) (*Eger*).
15. Maastricht Osterspiel (12) (*Maastricht*).

(1) Pub. by J.-M. Richard (Arras, 1893), pp. 33-50.

(2) Pub. by G. Paris et G. Raynaud (Paris, 1878), pp. 67-88.

(3) Pub. by Gustave Cohen, *Mystères et moralités du Ms. 617 de Chantilly* (Paris, 1920), pp. 8-23.

(4) *Bib. de la Ville de Valenciennes*, Ms. 650, fol. 86v^o-95v^o (the *Three Kings* episode, omitting the *Circumcision*) published in Appendix II of this study.

(5) L. T. SMITH, ed. *The York Plays* (Oxford, 1885), pp. 126-37.

(6) A. W. POLLARD, ed. *The Towneley Plays* (London, 1897), *E. E. T. S.*, 71 *E. S.*, pp. 140-60.

(7) J. O. HALLIWELL, ed. *Ludus Coventriæ* (London, 1841), pp. 161-71 and *Ludus Coventriæ or the Plaie called Corpus Christi*, ed. K. S. BLOCK (London, 1922) *E. E. T. S.*, 120 *E. S.*

(8) H. DEIMLING, ed. *The Chester Plays* (London, 1893), *E. E. T. S.*, 62 *E. S.*, Part I, pp. 160-86.

(9) HARDIN CRAIG, ed. *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays* (London, 1902), *E. E. T. S.*, 87 *E. S.*, pp. 16-27, 36-8.

(10) KLAPPER, *op. cit.*, and F. J. MONE, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters* (Mannheim, 1852), I, 161-72.

(11) G. MILCHSACK, ed. (Tübingen, 1881), pp. 63-79. *Bib. des Lit. Vereins in Stuttgart*, vol. CLVI.

(12) Ed. by J. Zacher, « Mittelniederländisches Osterspiel », *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, II (1842), pp. 313-18.

16. Erlauer Dreikönigspiel (1) (*Erlau*).

There is also a fragment of an early Three Kings play published by M. Isnard, (2) which, however, contains only the opening scenes and is unique in character. The Innsbruck *Fronleichnamsspiel* Three Kings incident (3) is merely a didactic poem; the Digby Play (4) and the *Mystère de l'Incarnation et Nativité* (5) give only a brief narration of the incident. The analyses and extracts of the Valenciennes Passion, Bib. Nat. Ms. f. fr. 12536, published by H. Giese and H. Schreiner, Greifswald Dissertations 1905 and 1907, show that the Three Kings episode is merely a compilation. The Valenciennes *Passion en rime franchoise*, analyses and extracts of which are published by A. Kneisel, Greifswald Dissertation, 1906, has a Three Kings episode which is published as Appendix II of this study, and which, as Kneisel points out, has no parallel in any other play.

In the comparison of the *Reyes Magos* with the Latin liturgical Three Kings plays, there were, as the diagram p. 53 shows, found to be six main points in which the Spanish play differs from the Latin plays in dramatic structure. Taking these up in the order in which they occur in the Spanish play, and making a further comparison with the *Benediktbeuern* and fifteen other plays in the vernacular, it will be found that only one of these points remains peculiar to the Spanish play.

1. In the Latin plays, although the kings first make their appearance coming from different directions, their

(1) Ed. Froning, *op. cit.*, pp. 942-48.

(2) *Bull. du Comité des travaux historiques, Hist. et Phil.*, 1896, 704-22.

(3) Pub. by F. Mone, *Altdeutsche Schauspiele* (Quedlinburg, 1841).

(4) Ed. F. J. Furnivall, *The Digby Plays* (London, 1896), *E. E. T. S.*, 70, *E. S.*

(5) Pub. by P. LE VERDIER, *Mystère de l'Incar. etc.*, 3 v. (Rouen. 1884), II, 461-5.

first words are said as they meet and consecutively, whereas in the Spanish play, each king first appears independently and soliloquizes about the appearance and meaning of the star. These soliloquies are entirely absent from the German plays, as from the Latin, with the exception of the *Benediktbeuern*, but appear in it and in three of the French plays (*Ste. Gen.*, *Arras*, *Greban*) and in three of the English plays (*York*, *Coventry* *S and T.*, *Towneley*).

2. The same points of resemblance strengthened by the addition of another play (*Lud. Cov.*) like the Spanish, are found in a comparison of the second point of divergence which arises naturally from the first, namely that in the Spanish play two of the kings meet first and converse, and are later joined by the third.

3. The third point of difference from most of the Latin plays — a negative one — is that in the Spanish play there is no messenger who announces to Herod the arrival of the Three Kings, or who summons them into his presence. That the lack of transition between the decision of the Magi to go to worship the child, and their abrupt appearance before Herod is not due to lack of skill in dramatic handling, is shown by the use further on in the play of a messenger to summon the scribes to the consultation scene. We know from the omission of lines required by the rhyme in several places that the manuscript is defective, and one is inclined to think that the copyist may have omitted the messenger scene, though a comparison with the other plays shows that it is lacking in the most primitive Latin Herod play, *Nevers*, and in two plays in the vernacular (*Erlau* and *Chesler*, in which occurs only the stage direction, l. 144 : *Nunlius ad Herodem*).

4. The fourth point of difference in dramatic structure is the order of scenes, according to which in the Spanish play the Magi are permanently dismissed by Herod before he summons the scribes to ask for the prophecy concerning the coming of Christ. This diver-

gence from the Biblical narrative does not appear elsewhere in any of the plays except *Benediktbeuern*, where, however, the situation is somewhat different, in that Herod does call upon his « archisynagogus » for advice, and that the final convocation to ask about the prophecy takes place only after several intervening scenes not found in the *Reyes Magos* fragment. As this fragment breaks off abruptly in the midst of the scribe scene, we cannot tell whether the original play was followed, as is usual, by a Slaughter of the Innocents play. If such was the case, the dismissal of the Magi before the display of wrath, and before the consultation scene, would, as Hartmann (1) has pointed out, show clever dramatic handling in heightening the effect of Herod's treachery and facilitating the planning of the Slaughter. The scribe scene is entirely lacking in three English plays, and in one German play.

5. Herod's vigorous monologue which follows the dismissal of the Magi in the *Reyes Magos*, is entirely lacking in all the Latin plays except *Benediktbeuern*, but in the other plays in the vernacular, Herod's rantings and boastings become the stock characteristic of Three Kings and Slaughter of the Innocent plays. Repeated in each play, they increase in violence until they give rise to Shakespeare's expression of ' out-Heroding Herod (2) '.

6. The only point in the dramatic structure which remains peculiar to the Spanish play is the occurrence of the dispute between the scribes at the end of the fragment, which has not been found elsewhere in any form of the legend of the Three Kings.

To summarize : of the six points peculiar to the dramatic action of the *Reyes Magos* compared with that of the Latin plays, one only remains peculiar to it after a comparison with the other non-liturgical plays. This

(1) *Op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

(2) *Hamlet*, III, II, 16.

one may easily be ascribed to the freedom allowed the fancy of the individual dramatist, and shows merely an advance in dramatic treatment. Practically every play in the vernacular shows at least one such addition to the dramatic narrative ; thus e. g. in *Arras* the squire of one of the kings bargains with the inn-keeper for lodgings ; in *Semur* there is a scene between the king's messenger and Herod's porter at the palace gates ; in *Erlau* Herod's court fool appears ; in *Chantilly* there is a show of affection between Herod and his people, etc.

The accompanying table shows the order of the scenes in the *Reyes Magos* and the position of the corresponding scenes in the structural framework of *Benediktbeuern* and some of the other plays in the vernacular. It takes no account of the scenes of the other plays in the vernacular which do not occur in the *Reyes Magos*. As the counterpart of Herod's monologue reappears in several places in many of the plays, it is not assigned any definite position.

In discussing the content — the substance — of the *Reyes Magos*, critics have laid special stress on the element of *doubt* which appears in it. Graf calls it *skepticism*. Fitzmaurice-Kelly says of it : « On y rencontre même un trait d'esprit critique auquel on ne s'attendait guère : Melchior et Gaspar voudraient voir pendant une nuit le signe miraculeux de l'étoile, et Balthazar voudrait l'observer pendant trois nuits encore (1) ». These critics refer to the soliloquies of each of the kings, in which, after wondering at the marvelous star, and at first inclining to the belief that it is the sign of the new born Christ, they are siezed with misgiving, and decide to watch - Balthasar, as he says, in order to « know more truly », Melchior in order to know « whether it is true or whether it is nothing ». In theological tradition and in the Latin Liturgical plays there is no trace of this incredulity, but the

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

Reyes Magos	Ben.	Ste	G.	Sem.	Ar.	Gr.	Chan.	Yk.	Laud. Gov.	Cov.	Ch.	Town.	Maas.	K. J.	Erl	Eger.
1. Soliloquies....	1	1			1	1		1		1		1				
2. Meeting.....	2	2			2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2				2
3. Decision to go together.....	3	3		3	3	3	3	3			3	3	3		3	3
4. Before Herod	4	4		4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
5. Dismissal....	5						5						5			
6. Herod sends messenger to scribes.....	6	6		6		6		6			6			6	6	6
7. Consultation scene.....	7	7		7	7	7					7	7		7	7	7
8. Dispute bet scribes.....		5		5	5	5		5	5	5	5	5		5	5	5

Pseudo-Chrysostom legend suggests the possibility of such dramatic treatment in the lines « orabunt et laudabunt in silentio Deum tribus diebus... expectantes semper ne forte in generatione sua stella illa beatitudinis oriretur, donec apparuit eis, etc. » (Cf. supra p. 26). *Benediktbeuern*, possibly, and certainly four of the plays in the vernacular (*Eger*, *Cov. W.* — and probably *S. and T.* l. 588, III Rex : Asse me thynke a child peryng in a stare. — *Chester*, *Valenciennes*) make direct use of this legend with as great freedom of treatment as the Spanish play, and in five of them (*St. Gall*, *Ste. Gen.*, *Arras*, *Greban*, *York*) the kings refer to the star as the one long watched for by their ancestors, as for instance :

Greban, v. 5434 :

Longtemps par un ardent desir
Ay attendu ceste venue.

York, XVII, v. 4 :

.....this sight
Whilke my kynrede was coveytande.

The Spanish play makes a different use of the dramatic possibilities latent in the legend, in having the kings decide to watch the second or third night, but the doubt which motivates the action is clear in *Benediktbeuern* and at least four other plays. In *Benediktbeuern* the doubt is expressed :

v. 254 :

Sed cum hanc inspicio
ego miror iterum
quia non comparuit
apud quemquam veterum...
quid portendat nescio
sed querens attentius...
In eo, quod ambigo,
se monstrantem dubium
et cure participem
iam inveni socium !

Towneley, v. 110 :

I shall neuer ryst by day nor nyght
To I wyt whens may com this lyght...
What it may mene, that know I noght,

and, on seeing the other two kings :

v. 143 :

I shall assay if they wote oght
What it may be.....
.
Now syrs, syn we ar semled here
I rede we ryde togeder, in fere,
unto we wytt.....
what it may mene, this sterne so clere.

York XVII, II, *Rex* : v. 17 :

I shall (noght) seys tille I have sought
What selcouth thyng it sall sygnifie,
.
.....I sall noght cesse,
Till I witte what it mene.

In *Greban* Jaspar at least, hesitates :

v. 5252 :

En mon cuer ne puis trop penser
quel signifiante a en soy
cette estoille...

and Melchior's squire even moralizes on the wisdom
of such doubting :

v. 5386 :

bon fait doubter aucunesfois
pour avoir plus grande certitude ;
si vault mieux bonne doubte et rude
que savoir trop presomptueux.

In *Arras* we even infer that at least one of the kings
is continuing his watch as in the Spanish play. Jaspar
speaks of :

v. 2933 :

.....l'estoille que vela.....
par laquelle je m'esmerveille
et que diligamment je veille
pour sçavoir que ce signifie.

In *Chester* the correspondance with the Spanish is even closer :

v. 85, Primus Rex :

yea, lest this be some phantasie
yet pray we all especially,
for if he be borne verely
more signes he will us show.

This element of doubt in the Spanish play, as far as it is expressed by the Kings' perplexity at the appearance of the star, is, therefore, paralleled in the other plays.

Its second expression, which Graf, but not Fitzmaurice-Kelly, comments on, is the kings' decision to offer their gifts, not as symbols of their faith, but as tests of Christ's identity — to prove whether he is king or God or mortal. This is apparently unique in the drama, nor is it found anywhere else, as has been explained above (cf. pp. 42-44), except in the French narrative poems on the Infancy, suggested in the *Ste. Gen.* play, of which these poems are a source, in certain versions of Marco Polo's *Travels*, and in one line of one hymn. According to the accepted theological tradition since Irenaeus, in the second century, the gifts are offered as symbols of faith — (cf. Appendix I, A) — gold as to a king, incense as to God, and myrrh as to a mortal.

Another point which Graf makes is the divergence of the Spanish play from the Latin plays in the fact that the Magi are astronomers

v. 37 :

Desto so io bono strelero

v. 52 :

Sodes uos strelero ?

A very superficial acquaintance with the legend, however, reveals that, as has been shown, beginning with Tertullian in the second century, the Magi were « stellarum interpretes », or, according to Gregory Nazianzen in the 4th, « magi quorum vita erat astris

dedita », or, to chose at random through the centuries : in the 5th, Leo the Great: « gens quæ spectandorum siderum arte pollebat ; » *Liber de Divinis Officiis* of the 9th : « edocti in cursu astrorum ; » Peter Abelard in the 12th ; « astrorum periti... astronomici ». (cf. Appendix I, B).

In *Benediktbeuern*, and in several of the plays in the vernacular, this tradition is suggested, and in at least three others, the word astronomer is used as in the Spanish.

v. 250 Primus dicat :

Cursus ego didici
et naturas siderum,
et ipsorum memini
perscrutari numerum :

v. 282 Dicat secundus :

Quando mente vigili
planetas inspicio
mea vim cuiuslibet
deprehendit ratio ;
de Marte, de Venere,
de Sole, Mercurio
• • • • •
que sit vis cuiuslibet
in quo domicilio :
Sed in hac quam aspicias
et quam monstras digito
qualitate cognita
de effectu dubito...

Herod says, v. 402 :

Huc tres magi veniunt
non astrorum inscii.

St. Gall, v. 602, Melchior says :

..... von astronomie
hân wir gelernet mangel tag
wâ von daz beschehen mag,
daz der luft verwandelt wird etc.

In *Towneley* there is much the same context as in the Spanish. The third king, speaking of the star, says :

XIV, v. 201 :

That shewys well the prophecy
 That it so be ;
 Or els the rewlys of astronomy
 Dessauys me.....

In Arras, Balthazar explains to Herod :
 v. 3362 :

Tous trois sommes roix payens
 Se nous cognoissons es planettes...

and Jaspar, v. 2938 :

En tout le cours d'astronomie
 Qui est moult haultaine science
 En quoi j'ay mis mon estudie...

Chantilly v. 305, Jaspar :

Nos sommes tres bons astronomen...

In the face of these facts it is interesting to have Graf comment on the appearance of the Magi as astronomers in the *Reyes Magos* as follows : « Non è egli cosa notevolissima che l'un dei re dica di sè medesimo di essere *bono strellero*, cioè dotto conoscitore degli astri, e che a far sperimento di un segno celeste si tragga in mezzo l'osservazione scientifica ? Questo e forse l'unico riverbero di spirito scientifico che sia dato scoprire in tutta quanta la drammatica liturgica e devota del medio evo (1) » He continues by ascribing this scientific spirit rather lengthily to the influence of Arabic learning in Spain.

Another matter for comparison in the content of the plays, is the nature of the star — the material starting point, as Chambers calls it, of all Three Kings plays. In the Latin plays the star is marvelous because it is exceedingly bright, in the Spanish play, because it is newly created. Both conceptions, as has been shown (cf. Appendix I, C), are common in the theological tradition, and the following Spanish phrases are almost

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

translated by the corresponding ones from the other mystery plays :

Reyes Magos, v. 3 :

Agora primas la e ueida,
poco timpo a que es nacida.

v. 19 :

Esta strela non se dond uinet,
quin la trae o quin la tine.
Porque es achesta sennal ?
en mos dias on (1) ui atal.

v. 33 :

.....atal facinda
fu nunquas alguandre falada
o en escriptura trubada ?

v. 92 :

Esto es grand ma (ra) uila
un strela es nacida.

Benediktbeuern, v. 256 :

Quia non comparuit
aput quemquam veterum.

v. 422 :

Stella nova radiat.

Sle Geneviève, p. 85 :

car oncques mez nulz ne la vit.

Semur, v. 3088 :

c'oncques ne fut veue pareille

Arras, v. 2932 :

Onques ne vis chose pareille !
Certes l'estoille que vela
Me demonstre une grant merveille.

Greban, v. 5173 :

oncques je ne vȳs tel lumiere

(1) Scribal error for *non*.

v. 5175 :

qui vit oncques mes tel merveille...

Towneley, v. 134 :

so selcouth sight was neuer sene

v. 187 :

for sich a starne was never ere seen

St. Gall, v. 632 :

ein sterne niwe und der nie mê
bî andren sternem wart gesehen

Erlau, v. 75 :

scheinen einen neun stern

The fifth and sixth points of comparison in content are Herod's question, « When did the star appear ? », and the answer to it, « thirteen days ago », both of which occur in the Spanish play, but not in any of the Latin plays. The Gospel narrative has : « Then Herod, when he had privily called the Wise Men, inquired of them diligently what time the star appeared », but, without suggesting the answer, continues with : « And he sent them to Bethlehem, and said, Go and search diligently », etc. The same situation occurs in the Apocryphal Gospels, but, with the establishment of the feast of the Epiphany on January 6th, the generally accepted tradition is that the kings set out when the star was first seen on Christmas (suggested at the beginning of the Spanish play by « in ahest mes de december »), and that the journey occupied twelve days and part of the thirteenth, their arrival before Herod in Jerusalem being variously conceived in the early plays as occurring anywhere between the tenth and thirteenth day.

In one of the German plays, the kings tell Herod the time of the appearance of the star without his having asked it.

St. Gall, v. 631 :

Vor .XII. Tagen und niht vil mê.

In two of the French plays we have the same situation as in the Spanish play - both the question and the answer.

In *Arras*, Herod asks, v. 3437 :

Quel terme il y a...

and Jaspar answers, v. 3443 :

Il y a demain .XIII. jours.

Cf. *Greban*, v. 6509, Herode :

Mais parlez nous de la saison

Que vous la veistes.....

Balthazar :

Il y a dix jours ou bien pres,

and, after Herod has pressed the question,

v. 6519 :

Il n'y a ne plus ne mains.

In *Coventry S. and T.*, the question,

v. 650 :

How long yt is surely,

and the answer, v. 654 :

the same ys evin the twelfth day.

In *Chantilly*, the kings volunteer the information that they left their respective countries twelve days before. E. g. Balthazar :

v. 294 :

si moy suy de mon paiis partis

XII jours at, sens point mentir.

A seventh point of comparison is the question of the names of the three kings. In the Latin plays, the only name given is Zoroaster, which Anz (1) has explained by the occurrence of Zoroaster's prophecy of the coming of Christ in the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy*, or by the frequent reference in theological writings

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 95.

to Zoroaster as the first of the Magian sect (cf. p. 20). In one Latin liturgical play the names do appear twice in a modified form — Melchus, Caspar, Fadizarda — but the editor, Professor Karl Young (1), states that these names are written over the original word *Magi*, in smaller capitals, which, as he has kindly informed me, are in a later hand, though he believes still of the 12th century.

In all but four of the other plays in the vernacular, the names are given as in the Spanish play.

A negative point of difference in the Spanish play is the absence of any indication of the names of the countries from which the Magi come, although Herod asks the question,

v. 80 :

de qual terra uenides ?

In the liturgical plays the countries are given generally as those named in Psalm LXXII : « Kings of Tarsis, Arabia and Saba shall bring gifts. » In three, as also in *Benediktbeuern*, the kings are Chaldaeans as well, and these names occur generally also in the mystery plays.

A ninth point of difference in the Spanish play is the citation of Jeremiah as the prophet of Christ,

v. 141 :

Non entendes las profecias
las que nos dixo Jeremias ?

In the Latin plays the only prophet named is Isaiah. In the plays in the vernacular, Isaiah, Balaam, and Micah occur most frequently although in *St. Gall* as many as twenty four prophets are enumerated and in three English mystery plays Jeremiah is named in company with at least five others.

The citation of Jeremiah in the *Reyes Magos* may be another indication that the fragment is the beginning of a Slaughter of the Innocents play (cf. p. 60)

(1) *M.L.N.*, XXVII (1912), 70.

in which the appropriate prophecy is from Jeremiah XXXI, 15, cited in Matthew II, 18 : Vox in Rama audita est, ploratus et ululatus multus : Rachel plorans filios suos, et noluit consolari, quia non sunt.

The last point peculiar to the Spanish play in the comparison with the liturgical plays, namely that one of the scribes reports to Herod that he cannot find the prophecy, and is reproached by Herod or by another scribe, has already been referred to as one of the peculiarities in dramatic action. It is very difficult to arrive at any conclusion about this scene owing to the form in which it is transmitted in the single manuscript. The rôles are not divided, the only indication of change of scene and speaker are dots and crosses, and these are evidently wrongly placed more than once ; and, also, the crux of the whole situation, the verb *fallo*, « I do not find it written », is merely supplied conjecturally by Menéndez Pidal in his edition. Lidforss (1), Morel-Fatio and others have interpreted the passage in various ways. No one of these interpretations, however, affects materially the subject of this study, as there is apparently nothing in the scene vital to the substance of the traditional legend, but merely some evidence of the author's freedom of dramatic treatment.

Even this point has a counterpart in two of the French plays. In the *Ste. Geneviève* play p. 100, the scribe, realizing that his information will be displeasing to Herod, gives it so haltingly that Herod calls out : « Que sces tu ? Or le dy et le conte ou le chief te feray hoster ». In *Arras* one of the two scribes cannot at first find the prophecy, v. 3496 : « Quesse cy, Maistre Galien, Ce livre cy n'en parle point » — which tallies closely with the Spanish, « I tell you truly, I do not find it written ».

To summarize : in the comparison both of structure and content, apart from the two negative points — the absence of the messenger scene and of the names

(1) *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Litteratur*, XII (1871), pp. 44 ff.

of the countries whence the Magi came, both of which omissions may be due to a faulty transcription — of the twelve points found to be peculiar to the *Reyes Magos* in a comparison with the Latin liturgical plays, only three remain peculiar to it after a comparison with the *Benediktbeuern* Latin transitional play and the other Three Kings plays in the vernacular.

Of these three, two — the dismissal of the kings before the scribe scene and the dispute between the scribes — have, as has been pointed out, counterparts to some degree in others of the plays, and there is nothing in their substance which need be ascribed to anything but the exigencies of dramatization — a natural effort toward dramatic effect.

The third point cannot be explained either on the ground of dramatization or of utilization of a familiar motif of the legend. On the contrary, it is opposed to the foundation of the tradition of the Adoration of the Magi and to the dramatic representation of the tradition, the kernel of which, as Chambers has said (1) is a dramatized *Offertorium*.

In the Spanish fragment the gifts, as has been pointed out, are to be offered not in adoration, but as tests of the Christ-child's identity. This extra-canonical tradition has not been found elsewhere in any reference to the legend either theological or popular, except, as has been mentioned, in a single line of one hymn ; in the French narrative poems of the Infancy ; in certain manuscripts of Marco Polo's *Travels*, which, since they were written originally in French, may easily have been influenced by the poems, just as the legend in the chronicles of Jean d'Outremeuse and Philippe Mousquet is certainly borrowed from them ; and, finally, suggested in one line of the Sainte Geneviève *Jeu des Trois Rois*, which is known to derive from the narrative poems.

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE FRENCH NARRATIVE POEMS OF THE *GOSPEL OF THE INFANCY* ON THE *REYES MAGOS*.

Since the appearance of the tradition of the extra-canonical motif in the hymn is proof of its existence outside of the poems, and since the date ascribed to the earliest published manuscript of the poem is later than that ascribed to the *Reyes Magos*, before assuming that there is any relation between the poem and the play on the ground merely of the legend, is it necessary to compare them from other points of view. Logical points of comparison would be of those motifs in the poem which showed a new development in the legend, and of the peculiarities of the play which were found not to have counterparts in *Benediktbeuern* or in other plays in the vernacular.

As in the *Montpellier*, *Cambridge*, *Bib. Nat.* 1526 manuscripts of the poems, the kings in the *Reyes Magos* are evidently strangers to each other at the time of meeting ; as in *Cambridge*, *Brit. Mus.*, *Grenoble* and *Bib. Nat.* 2162, they call their journey a pilgrimage ; when they meet, they decide as in *Cambridge*, *Brit. Mus.*, *Bib. Nat.* 1526 and 2162 on the offerings they will take as tests of identity. As in five of the manuscripts, the scribe scene during the interview with Herod is lacking, though in *Montpellier* it takes place after the dismissal as in the *Reyes Magos*.

Since the Spanish play and the poems are written in two related languages, a further comparison of phraseology is necessary. Such a comparison brings out

further relations in content, and the verbal similarities show direct borrowings. The most striking are the following :

Reyes Magos

decid me uostros nombres
no m'los querades celar
Quanto i a que la usites

Esto es grand ma(ra) uila
un strela es nacida

que es de las gentes senior

bien lo ueo que es uerdad
certas nacido es in tirra

aquel rei adorar
que es nacido in terra

nol podemos fallar

i todo seglo iugara

que es senior de todo el mundo

si rei celestial

o si es rei de terra o si celestial

sobre rei otro tal
rei otro sobre mi !

*Poems of the Infancy**Montpellier*

mon nom ne vos quier ja celer

savez vos or combien il a

Bib. Nat. 1526

une estoille resplendissant
que l'en tint a merveille grant...
ne mes cele qui donc fu nee

.....sire ert de tute gent

Brit. Mus.

ki avereit seignurie sur tute gent

Cambridge

ki de tout en seroit li sire

Bib. Nat. 1526

bien savoient por verité
que Dieu estoit en terre né
Grenoble

si alon chercher et enquire
.I. dieu qui est en terre nés

Bib. Nat. 9588 (1)

voudrent aler et pour enquerre
quelz roi estoit nés en terre

Montpellier

qui trestoz nos justisera

Cambridge, Grenoble, Bib. Nat.
152

sire sera de tout le mont

Grenoble

rois au chiel espirituels

Ste. Gen.

rois des cieulx et roys du monde
Bib. Nat. 2162

del ciel et de la tierre rois et
sires sera

Grenoble

Comment dist Herod le roy
sera il autre roy roy que moy ?
Sera il donc plus hault que moi ?

(1) Variant in Krappe, *op. cit.*

The passages referring to the peculiar motif of the play and the poems brings out even closer verbal resemblances.

Cumo podremos provar si es
homne mortal

Queredes bine saber cumo lo
sabremos ?

Si fure rei de terra el
oro quera

si fure omne mortal, la mira
tomara

Bib. Nat. 1526
par l'encens que li .I. portoit
voudrent prouver, s'il le prenoit
Montpellier

lors saurai bien se il le prent
Brit. Mus.

Si c'est or prent de main...
il serra reis en tere

Bib. Nat. 1526

de l'or disoient li baron

s'il le prenoit, qu'il seroit rois
par le mierre...

s'il le prenoit... disoient
que il seroit mortex

Aiol.

s'estes rois terriens, l'or...

Bib. Nat. 9588

que il seroit homme mortal

Brit. Mus.

il ert mortel hum

CONCLUSION

The elements of the legend of the Three Kings which are common to the *Misterio de los Reyes Magos* and to the Latin liturgical Three Kings plays are only those which are found to have developed from the Gospel narrative in general theological tradition independent of the liturgy.

The elements of the legend which are found in the *Reyes Magos* and not in the liturgical plays are, however, with the exception of two, found in the *Benediktbeuern* transitional Latin play and in the other plays in the vernacular in French, English and German which are known to derive from the Latin liturgical plays.

The two elements which remain peculiar to the Spanish play after a comparison with mediæval Three Kings plays in Latin and in the vernacular are the dispute between the scribes, and the kings' decision to offer their gifts as tests of the identity of Christ.

It is difficult to reach a conclusion concerning the first peculiarity of the *Reyes Magos* owing to the evident inaccuracy of the manuscript and the absence of any indication of how the speeches are to be assigned — which has resulted in varying interpretations of the passage by critics, — and, chiefly, owing to the abrupt ending of the fragment with this dispute between the scribes. There is nothing, however, in this episode which is contrary to the accepted theological tradition. Any interpretation which has been given it points

merely to its being an individual dramatic touch such as occurs in the most developed Latin plays and in every one of the plays in the vernacular, and which is natural to a dramatization of the legend.

The second peculiarity of the *Reyes Magos* is opposed to the general tradition of the legend both theological and dramatic. In theological tradition the gifts are offered as symbols of the kings' faith in the threefold nature of Christ, and the plays are, in essence, as Chambers has said, a dramatized *Offerlorium*. In the Spanish fragment, on the contrary, the kings decide to take with them the gifts in order to use them as tests of whether the Christ child is king or God or mortal.

This motif of the legend has not been found elsewhere except barely suggested twice, and twice in detail. Of these four occurrences, only two — a single line of one hymn and the French narrative poems of the *Gospel of the Infancy* — are possible sources of the element in the *Reyes Magos*.

A comparison of the various versions of the poem which are published and the Spanish play shows other points of similarity between the two in motivation and phraseology, and the expression of the peculiar motif of the gifts shows such striking verbal similarities as to show a direct relation between them.

The similarities, not between the *Reyes Magos* and the Latin liturgical plays, but between the *Reyes Magos* and the other plays in the vernacular known to derive from the liturgical plays confirm the historical probability that the ultimate dramatic source of the *Reyes Magos* is a liturgical Epiphany play brought from France. The Mozarabic liturgy for the Epiphany is so similar to the Epiphany offices of the Roman church that the same dramatic tradition of the legend of the Three Kings could, however, have arisen as well in the one as in the other. The similarities between the *Reyes Magos* and the whole tradition of French, English and German Three Kings plays places it unmis-

takably in that dramatic tradition. The greater similarities between it and the *Benedikbeuern* Latin play make it seem probable that if the *Reyes Magos* had an immediate Latin dramatic source, it was of that transitional type. The adoption of a peculiar motif of the legend, and close verbal similarities prove, however, the additional influence of the French narrative *Poems of the Infancy* as an essential vernacular and non-dramatic source of the Spanish play.

APPENDIX I, A

THE MEANING OF THE GIFTS

Irenæus, P. G. VII, 870 : per ea quæ obtulerunt munera ostendisse, quis erat qui adorabatur : *myrrham* quidem quod erat qui pro mortali humano genere *moreretur et sepeliretur* ; *aurum* vero quoniam *rex* ; *thus* quoniam *Deus*.

Origen P. G. XI, 771 : sumptis muneribus quæ veluti symbola... ut *regi aurum* ; ut *moriluro myrrham* ; ut *Deo thus* obtulerunt.

Hilary of Poitiers, P. L. IX, 923 : Denique oblatio munerum intelligentiam in eo totius qualitatis expressit : in *auro regem* ; in *thure Deum* ; in *myrrha hominem* confitendo.

Basil the Great, P. G. XXXI, 1471 : velut *regi aurum* ; *moriluro myrrham* ; *Deo thus* obtulerunt.

Ambrose, C. S. E. L. XXXII, Pars iv, 66 : *Aurum regi, thus deo, murra defuncto* ; aliud enim *regis insigne*, aliud *diuinæ sacrificium potestatis*, aliud *honor est sepulchræ*.

Juvenius, C. S. E. L. XXIV, lib. I, 15-6 :

.....tum munera trina
Tus, aurum, murram regique, hominique Deoque
Dona dabant.

Jerome, P. L. XXX, 537 : *aurum regi, thus Deo, myrrha sepulcrum*.

Prudentius, *Cathemerinon* XII :

Regem Deumque annuntiant
 Thesaurus et fragrans odor
 Thuris Sabei : ac myrrheus
 Pulvis sepulcrum prædocet.

Augustine, P. L. XXXVIII, 1035 : et nos regem et sacerdotem et pro nobis mortuum Christum agnoscences et laudantes, tamquam in auro et thure et myrrha honoravimus.

Sedulius, P. L. XIX, 605 :

Aurea nascenti fuderunt *munera regi*,
Thura dedere *Deo*, *myrrham* tribuere *sepulcro*.

Maximus of Turin, P. L. LVII, 269 : Sacerdotem plane Christum magica probat veneratio ; nam id omne mysterium eorum muneribus confirmatur. Obtulerunt enim quantum in ipsis est, quod putebant esse pulcherrimum, Salvatori aurum, thus et myrrham : *aurum* quasi ad *regnandum*, *thus* quasi ad *propitiandum*, *myrrham* quasi ad *resurgendum* (col. 270) : *Auro potentia* ostenditur, *myrrha* designatur *incorruptibilitas*, *pontificium thure* monstratur. Non enim otiose factum est, quod magi ad Dominum cum suis muneribus advenerunt.

Leo the Great, P. L. LIV, 236 : ...atque ut sacramentum fidei suæ intelligentiæque manifestent quod cordibus credunt, muneribus protestantur. *Thus Deo*, *myrrham homini*, *aurum* offerunt *regi*.

Petrus Chrysologus, P. G. LII, 616 : Hinc est quod apta patrum fidei munera portaverunt ; ut *aurum regi*, *incensum Deo*, *morituro myrrham* scienter offerent.

Fulgentius, P. L. LXV, 736 : Per ista tria munerum genera, in uno eodemque Christo, et *divina majestas*, et *regia potestas*, et *humana mortalitas* intimatur. *Thus* enim ad *sacrificium*, *aurum* pertinet ad *tribulum*, *myrrha* ad *sepulturam* pertinet *mortuorum*. Omnia hæc sancta fides Christo veraciter offerre non desinit, dum unum eundemque verum Deum, verum regem verumque

hominem credit, et vere pro nobis mortuum veraciter cognoscit.

Sedatus, P. L. LXXII, 773 : Auro, thure et myrrha humanitas cernitur, et divinitas adoratur. In *auri munere regia dignitas*, in *thuris vapore divina majestas*, in *myrrhæ specie sepelienda* demonstratur humanitas.

Gregory the Great, P. L. LXXVI, 1112 : *Aurum* quippe *regi* congruit, *thus* vero in *Dei sacrificium* ponabatur, *myrrha* autem *mortuorum corpora* condiuntur.

Isidore, P. L. LXXXIII, 118 : Magi figuraverunt gentium populos, lucem fidei cognituros, indicantes sacramentorum muneribus Christum per *thus* esse *Deum* ; per *myrrham hominem passum atque sepultum*, per *aurum regem* omnium sæculorum.

Bede, P. L. XCII, 13 : In auro regalis dignitas ostenditur Christi ; in *thure* ejus verum *sacerdotium*, in *myrrha*, *mortalitas carnis*.

Paulinus of Aquileia, Dreves, L. 129 :

In *auro regis* signat *excellentiam*,
In *ture* summum *sacerdotem* typicat,
Per *myrrham* Christi *sepulturam* mystice

Hrabanus Maurus (1) :

regiam dignitatem	Dei honorem	corporis sepulturam
regi	Deo	passuro
regia potestas	divina majestas	humana mortalitas

Walafrid Strabo :

regia potestas	divina majestas	humana mortalitas
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Paschasius Radbertus :

regis insignia	Deum	moriturum
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Theophylactus :

regi	Deo	degustaturo mortem
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(1) Definite references have been given up to this point in order to establish the fact that the gifts were offered in adoration. From this point on, the meaning only of the gifts is given for greater convenience in reference.

Anselm of Laon :

regia potestas	sacerdotium divinitas	mortalis humanitas
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Marbodius :

regnantem	tonantem	myrrha apta sepul- turæ futuræ
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Hildebert of Lavardin :

regem	Deum et sacerdotem	mortalem
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Honorius of Autun :

regnantem	gubernantem	mortalem
rex	sacerdos	homo

Bernard :

ob pauperitatem	ob infantilis corpo- ris teneritudinem	ob sordidam stabuli mansionem
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Peter Comestor :

regem	Deum	mortalem
-------	------	----------

Helinandus :

imperatorem	Deum	redemptorem
-------------	------	-------------

Sicardus :

regem	Deum	mortalem
-------	------	----------

Innocent III :

regem	Deum deorum	mortalem
-------	-------------	----------

Albertus Magnus :

regi excelso	Deo vero	in cruce morituro
--------------	----------	-------------------

Legenda Aurea :

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| 1) quotes Bernard
(cf. supra) | | |
| 2) tributum | sacrificium | sepulturam mortuo-
rum |
| 3) regia potestas | divina majestas | humana mortalitas |

Nicholas of Lyra :

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------|-------------------|
| 1) as Bernard (cf. su-
pra) | | |
| 2) regia dignitas | divinitas | humana mortalitas |

Speculum Humanæ Salvationis :

rex et	sacerdos voluit	mortem subire
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Historia Trium Regum, Eng. trans in Horstmann,
p. 79 :

king's power	divine majesty	man's mortality
tribute	sacrifice	sepulture
very king	very God	very man

Ludolph of Saxony, Vita Christi :

regia potestas	divina majestas	humana mortalitas
tributum	Deus et sacerdos	mori

Pseudo-Cyprian :

regem	sacerdotem	passibilem
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Pseudo-Bede :

regi	Deo	filium hominis mori- turum
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APPENDIX I, B

MAGI AS ASTROLOGERS

Tertullian : stellarum interpretes.

Gregory Nazianzen : quorum vita erat astris dedita.

Juvencus :

Gens est ulterior, surgenti conscia soli,
Astrorum solers ortusque ; obitusque notare,
Hujus primores nomen tenuere Magorum.
Huc lecti procures Solymos per longa viarum
Deveniunt regemque adeunt...

Prudentius :

En Persici ex orbis sinu,
Sol unde sumit januam
Cernunt periti interpretes
Regale vexillum Magi.
Quod ut refulsit...

Theodotus of Ancyra : et cum astronomiæ studium adhiberent, ab ipsis astris Christi mysteria docerentur.

Leo the Great : commovet magos... stella, et de mirandi luminis claritate viri ad hæc spectanda non inscii, magnitudinem significationis intelligunt... gens.... quæ spectandorum siderum arte pollebat.

Petrus Chrysologus : Putasne Chaldæos siderum scrutatores, errantes per astra magos... evangelista hodie ortum Christi absconditum sæculis stella duce docuit invenisse ?

Isidore : Primum autem iidem stellarum interpretes magi nuncupabantur, sicut de his legitur qui in Evangelio natum Christum annuntiaverunt.

Cosmas of Jerusalem : Thesaurus Christus in Sionem ejus regesque astrologos stella duce trahit.

Pseudo-Alcuin : Magi ut erant edocti in cursu astrorum. Iidem autem stellarum interpretes nuncupabantur.

Paschasius Radbertus : Nam magi idem sunt qui postea mathematici sunt vocati quorum est in stellis nascentium ortus inspicere.

Theophylactus : Nam quoniam astrologi Magi erant, propterea Dominus familiari ipsis signo eos adduxit.

Hildebert of Lavardin : Cum enim essent periti astrorum.

Honorius of Autun : Magi autem sunt dicti, quasi mathematici, scilicet in stellis periti.

Peter Abelard : Sunt qui prædictos magos non sic appellari autumant, quia fuerint malefici, sed quod astrorum periti, quasi astronomici.

Pseudo-Chrysostom, cf. supra p. 25-6.

Sicardus : Magi dicti sunt mathematici, scilicet in stellis periti.

Vincent of Beauvais quotes Pseudo-Chrysostom.

Albertus Magnus quotes Pseudo-Chrysostom.

Thomas Aquinas quotes Pseudo-Chrysostom.

Legenda Aurea quotes Pseudo-Chrysostom.

Speculum H. S. follows Pseudo-Chrysostom.

Historia Trium Regum follows Pseudo-Chrysostom.

Vita Christi : in scientia astrorum periti.

Pseudo-Cyprian : viri siderum inspectionibus assueti, qui arte mathematica vim discursumque noverant planetarum.

APPENDIX I, C

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STAR

Ignatius : splendore exsuperans omnes stellas... stuporem incussit ipsius novitas.

Origen : Stellam novam fuisse opinamur, nec ulli earum similem, quæ vel in firmamento sunt, vel in orbibus inferioribus ...et viso in cœlo prodigio.

Hilary of Poitiers : novum lumen.

Gregory Nazianzen : nova et nunquam antea visa... valde rutilantem.

Cæsarius : illi regalem agnoscentes stellam... Quod vero non stella sed intellectilis quædam et rationalis potestas... ex ipsa discimus tum motione tum institutione.

Basil : same as Cæsarius.

Gregory of Nyssa : same as Cæsarius.

Chrysostom : four ways different from other stars.
Cf. supra pp. 16-17.

Prudentius :

Hæc stella, quæ solis rotam
Vincit decore ac lumine.

Augustine : lux nova.

Sedulius : sidus micans regale.

Maximus of Turin : Quis enim dubitet ipsam stellam lætiori luce et fulgentioribus radiis coruscasse... novam in cœlis stellam rutilare fecit.

Leo the Great : stella novæ claritatis apparuit, quæ

illustrior cæteris pulchriorque sideribus... insolito novi sideris splendore.

Fulgentius : nunquam antea apparuit.

Bede : visa nova stella.

Cosmas of Jerusalem : Insignem cursum videntes Magi insoliti novi sideris recens apparentis plusquam cœlestia effulgentis...

Pseudo-Alcuin : Magi stellam videntes nimia claritate fulgentem ita ut solem luce superaret...

Hrabanus Maurus : nova stella... quantum in splendore præcessit... Hæc stella nunquam antea apparuit.

Walafrid Strabo : nova stella... nunquam prius apparuit.

Honorius of Autun : Hæc stella clarior sole fuit. Cf. p. 25.

Pseudo-Chrysostom : Cf. p. 26.

Bernard : novi sideris ductum.

Peter Comestor : Three ways different from others.

Helinandus : five ways different from others.

Innocent III : two ways different from others.

Albertus Magnus : five ways different from others.

Thomas Aquinas : five ways different from others.

Legenda Aurea : follows Pseudo-Chrysostom. Two sets of three ways.

Nicholas of Lyra : three ways different.

Speculum H. S. as in Pseudo-Chrysostom and *Legenda Aurea*.

Historia Trium Regum as in Pseudo-Chrysostom.

Vita Christi : fourteen ways different from others and as in *S. H. S.*

Vita B. V. M. et Salvatoris rythmice :

Et habens imaginem virginis puelle
in ipsius brachiis puerum gestantis.

(Legend of Octavian and Sybil).

Pseudo-Cyprian : præclari stella luminis cœleste numen novis splendoribus indicavit... orto repente novo sidere.

APPENDIX II

THREE KINGS PLAY FROM

« LA PASSION DE JESU CRIST EN RIME FRANCHOISE »

La Passion de Jesu crist en rime franchoise in the Ms. 605, catalogue Mangeart 421, of the library of the city of Valenciennes, contains in the folios 86v^o — 95v^o, a hitherto unpublished Three Kings play which from the point of view of the French dramatic tradition of the legend, has sufficient points of originality to make its publication of interest.

The writers who have discussed this *Passion* are : G. A. J. Hécart, *Recherches historiques sur le théâtre à Valenciennes* (Paris, 1816), p. 165 ; Onésime Leroy, *Etudes sur les mystères* (Paris, 1837), p. 132 ; Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères* (Paris, 1880), II, 418 ; Emile Picot, in his article « Fragments inédits de mystères de la Passion », *Romania* XIX (1890), 262 ; M. Emile Roy, *Le Mystère de la Passion en France*, (Dijon et Paris, 1903) p. 310 ; A. Kneisel, *Das Mystère La Passion de Jesu crist en rime franchoise*, Greifswald Dissertation, 1906 ; and M. Noël Dupire, in *Romania*, XLVIII (1922), 571.

M. Dupire on the grounds of « des particularités de langue, de style et de versification », all of which he studies in detail, attributes this redaction of the *Passion* to Jean Molinet.

The Three Kings episode contains none of the specific grounds on which M. Dupire bases his argument.

The pedantic display of erudition, the Latinisms in spelling, vocabulary and construction, and the variety of rhyme schemes, however, point very possibly to some writer of the *Ecole des Grands Rhétoriciens*, though not showing its usual exaggeration, as do many of the other episodes, according to M. Dupire. The extract printed here exhibits abundant evidences of Picard origin. These include : *le* as the feminine article, 3,35 and 145, and forms showing *ch* for normal French *ç* : *annonchiation*, 14, *cha*, 464, *cheluy*, 74, *chincquiesme*, 444, *enchens*, 101, 160, *apperchoy*, 233, *rechoit*, 537, *re·hupz*, 556, *bracheletz*, 559. One notices also : *ricesse*, 310 for *richesse*, *faulray*, 108, for *faudrai*, *remedir*. 458, for *remedier*. The dialectical peculiarities to which Leroy, Emile Picot, Kneisel and M. Dupire all call attention, seem to indicate more particularly the author of a similar dramatic compilation, the *Mistère de St. Quentin*, who, as M. Langlois has shown, (*Romania*, XXII, 1893, p. 532), was Jean Molinet of Valenciennes.

If this attribution is correct, the *Passion* was written between 1486, the date of Jean Michel's *Passion*, from which it shows borrowings in many episodes, and 1507, the date of Jean Molinet's death. The unique manuscript was written in the middle of the XVIth century, for the date 1549 appears frequently combined with a capital letter, as, for instance, on the folio 91v^o.

Emile Picot entitles the *Passion* a « remaniement de la *Passion de Jean Michel*, combiné avec le *Mystère de la Conception* », and says of it : « Les quelques passages un peu développés qui en ont été imprimés nous montrent que le compilateur a fait subir de grands changements à ses modèles ».

Kneisel shows by analyses and extracts the numerous borrowings from *Arras* and *Greban*, also, but in speaking of the « 4^e Journée », the one in which the Three Kings episode takes place, says : « In der ganzen Journée findet sich keine Parallele zu den übrigen Mystères ».

The interest of this dramatic version of the Three Kings legend is that while still keeping within the mediaeval tradition which originated in the liturgical plays, it nevertheless departs noticeably from the other dramatic versions, and especially from the other French ones. Though it borrows directly, as has been said, from Greban, Jean Michel, etc., it is nevertheless neither a mechanical compilation, such as the *Mystère de la Conception*, which probably immediately precedes it in date, nor, on the other hand, an almost independent play such as the *Joyeux Mystère des Trois Rois* of Jean d'Abundance (1), or the *Comédie de l'Adoration des Trois Rois* of Marguerite de Navarre (2), both of which probably follow it almost immediately in date. It can be said, therefore, to sum up the mediaeval dramatic tradition of the legend of the Three Kings, of which the *Reyes Magos* is the earliest example in the vernacular, while yet remaining original in certain episodes.

Since even in the Three Kings episode there are a few evident borrowings from other French mysteries, a study of its immediate sources would belong rather to a comparative study of the relations between the various plays in the vernacular than to this study of the development of the legend. References are given, however, in the notes, as the various motifs appear in the play, to their appearance in the discussion of the development of the legend.

JASPART ROY

86 vº 35) Quelle estoille faict la sa station ?
 J'en ay en moy grosse turbation.
 Comme une aultre ne le voy sintiler.

(1) Ed. by D. H. Carnahan, *Jean d'Abundance*, Univ. of Illinois Studies, v. III, No. 5, 1909.

(2) Ed. Félix Frank, *Les Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses* (Paris, 1873), II, pp. 66-134.

	Elle est en l'air sans variation.	4
	Se a ung enfant par demonstration	
	Portant la croix. Que vœult ce recoler ?	
	Balaam sage et de juste action,	
	Nostre grand pere, a dict que eduction	8
	D'une estoille se voldroit propaler	
87 r ^o)	De Jacob, et pour confirmation	
	Douze hommes sont de nostre nation	
	Qui tous les mois ne faillent de monter	12
	Sups montaignes pour avoir vision	
	De l'estoille qui annonchiacion	
	Fera comment une vierge enfanter	
	Doibt ung grand roy par exaltation	16
	Sups tous aultres en domination,	
	Rengnant en paix sur la terre et la mer.	
	Cecy me faict grande admiration.	
	Bien congnoy que en la haulte region	20
	Du firmament Dieu les faict adherer.	
	Deulx mil la sont en numeration	
	Et xxii selon la scription	
	D'astronomye au vrai determiner.	24
	Les fixes du lieu de septentrion	
	Sont prez du pol en circuicion ;	
	Les deulx Ourses et le Dragon moult cler ;	
	Puis de Hercules la coronation ;	28
	Le Voltoir qui faict declination ;	
	Pleiades peuchimere assambler ;	
	Puis Perseus et sa detention	
	De la teste de orible ostention	32
	Du monstre de Gorgon dur a passer ;	
	Carton ; Chevalz, et quy complexion	
	Faict de l'Anguille avoeq le emission	
	De Saiette ; le hault Aigle au voler ;	36
	Andromeda ; la juridiction	
	Du Daulphin ; la Triangulation	
	Avoeq pluisors que ne sçay racompter	
	Au lez austral ; et le grand Orion	40
	Qui d'ung glane faict sa succintion ;	
	Emidamis ; le Lievre pour troter ;	
	Aussy d'Argos la navigation ;	
	La Chiennette ; le grand Chien de Anction ;	44
	Le Autel ; la Coupe ; et Corbeau pour chanter ;	
	Centaure y est ; le Hidre d'infection ;	
	L'Encensoir pour thurribulation ;	
	Et le Poisson que on fist lassus bouter	48
	Au Sodiach au signe de Lion.	
	En la Balance ou a l'Escorpion	
	Sont planettes que on ne pœult rethirer ;	
	Saturne y est, et la construction	52
	De Jupiter, et Mars plain d'ultion ;	

	Phebus, Venus, Mercure, et Lune. Oster	
	On ne leur pœult leur situation.	
87 v ^o)	La mendre estoille a majoration	56
	Plus grande que de terre advironner.	
	Quinze estoilles ont augmentation	
	Deulx centz sept fois plus que l'extension	
	De toute la terre au vray referrer.	60
	Ptolomee en faict declaration.	
	Mais ceste la n'est que en la region	
	De l'air cy bas, qui me fait mult penser.	

LE SERVITEUR

	Cher sire, pour vray compasser,	64
	C'est la une estoille divine.	
	Ne pensez pas que je adevine,	
	Car a nous qui sommes en Perse	
	Sa lumiere est toute disperse	68
	Vers le aspect meredionnal,	
	Laissant le septentrional.	
	Se concludz par raison fundee	
	Que c'est au pays de Judee	72
	Que elle va moustrant comme c'est	
	Cheluy roy que les filz de Seth	
	Et de Moab percutera,	
	Et en Ydumee seroit.	
	Bon seroit de le aller chercher.	

JASPART

	Son regard me faict reslechier.	
	Le voila aupres de la lune.	
	Pas n'est une estoille commune	80
	Car elle est trop clere et bas mise.	
	C'est la prophetye promise	
	Aulx Juifz pour vers Dieu accendre	
	Par l'estoille qui doit descendre	84
	De Jacob, ainsy que le texte	
	Des saintz prophettes nous atteste.	
	Parquoy ne fault que je m'absente	88
	A suyvir l'estoille presente	
	Adfin que je puisse honorer	
	Par dons, et ce roy adorer.	
	Et tant yray, quoy que son nom	
	Ne sçay, que s'il est né ou non,	92
	Que je auray selon ma fiance	
	Trouvé celle signifiance.	
	Or tost dromadaires habilles	

	Soient prest et jointz que deux billes.	96
	Preparez tost bahus, fardeaux,	
	Bouges, esperons et houseaulx,	
	Manteau, chapeau, espees, males,	
	Or, argent, mires et fumailles,	100
	Enchens et gommès precieuses.	
88 r ^o)	Touttes ces choses gracyeuses	
	Me fault tout avocq moy porter.	

LE SERVITEUR

	Quand il vous plaira de monter	104
	Tout est prest. Ne fault que partir.	
	On ne vous sçauroit mieulx sortir.	
	Vecy vostre cheval empoint.	

JASPART, *monte*

Suyvez moy.

LE SERVITEUR

	Je ne faulray point	108
	D'accomplir vostre volonté.	

JASPART

	Puisque je suis sy bien monté	
	Je m'en yray a l'adventure	
	De Dieu ensuivant la figure	112
	Que cy vers Orient se appert.	
	Estre me fault prompt et expert	
	De me reugler selon sa voye.	
	Puis que a moy precéder se avoye	116
	Il m'est advis qu'elle me maine	
	Tout droict a ce regal dcmaine.	

MELCIOR ROY

	Noble estoille, Dicu te benye	
	Et me voculle avocq toy conduire.	120

LE SERVITEUR

Chier sire, pour nostre faict duire.
Resjoyssiez vous, car venir
Je voy quelque ung.

JASPART

Dont cy tenir
Me voldray, adfin de le attendre. 124

BALTASAR ROY

Je voy la gens qu'il voeuillent tendre
Vers moy chemin a mon advis.
Vers eulx je n'iray pas envis.
Honnoeur et de biens plenitude 128
Vous doinct le souverain du monde.

MELCIOR

Salut et bonne valitude,
Honnoeur et de biens plenitude.

JASPART

Seigneurs, pour vostre magnitude 132
Entretenir en vye munde,
Honnoeur et de biens plenitude
Vous doinct le souverain du monde.
O va vostre honnesté faconde ? 136

BALTASAR

Ou ? Moy je voy a l'adventure.

MELCIOR

Ceste estoille qui ne s'absconde
Me a faict prendre ceste monture.

JASPART

88 v^o) Certes selon ma conjecture 140
Vous avez mon oppinion.

BALTASAR

Quand a moy, je ne ay aultre cure
Que de faire ambulation
Avoecq vous, et ceste figure 144
Me en a donné le induction.

MELCIOR

Tous trois yrons en union
Pour voir ce que voldra conclure
Ceste estoille en sa motion. 148

JASPART

Voicy grande exultation
De trois en ung propos inclure.

BALTASAR

De Saba dont vient la lecture,
Me as donné ceste instruction. 152

MELCIOR

Des Arrabes suis. Se procure
De faire colaudation
Au roy quy né est en Sion
Comme je croy, ou la aupres. 156

JASPART

Parlons en allant motz expres
Pour sçavoir ce que nous ferons.

BALTASAR

Tous trois ce roy adorerons.
J'ay or, et se ay mir, et enchentz. 160

MELCIOR

Et moy.

JASPART

Et moy.

BALTASAR

Comme je sens,
Nous sommes tous trois d'ung advis.

MELCIOR

Par l'or, selon discret devis
On entend, se on ne est entrebut
Que on luy faict comme au roy tribut 164

JASPART

C'est bien dict, et mire le faict
Entendre estre ung homme parfaict.

BALTASAR

L'encens qu'il aura en son lieu
Designera qu'il est vray Dieu. 168

MELCIOR

Vela bonne exposition.
Parlons de l'apparition
Ce ceste estoille. Que vous samble ? 172

JASPART

Conclure nous en fault ensamble.

BALTASAR

Jamais plus clere ou rutillante.

MELCIOR

Mais comment elle est scintillante.

JASPART

Elle est plus clere que la lune. 176

BALTASAR

Pas n'est une estoille commune.

89 r^o)

MELCIOR

Cest estoille est elle celeste ?

JASPART

Non. Non.

BALTASAR

Non seroit ce moleste
A nous ? N'est elle pas de Dieu ? 180

MELCIOR

Quoy dont ?

JASPART

S'elle estoit la au lieu
Des aultres fixe au firmament,
Plus grande seroit vraiment
Que toute la terre, et ne auroit
Telle lueur. 184

BALTASAR

Elle seroit
Comme les aultres immobile.

MELCIOR

Ceste cy est basse et mobile
Et se est a la terre prochaine. 188

JASPART

Se vous avez la teste saine,
Vous sçauvez par raison sumiere
Que tousjours la grande lumiere
Obfusque la mendre appareil. 192
On en void quand luict le soleil.
Par jour, experience duire
Y poeult, voit on estoilles luire ?
Et neantmoins l'estoille est fixee 196
Au chiel, tant nuit que jour taxee.

BALTASAR

Vous parlez a nostre bon hoeur.
Ceste estoille donne splendeur
Tous les jours quoy que soleil luise, 200
Et ne void on pas que luy nuise
Ne empesce sa lucidité.

MELCIOR

C'est pour moustrer la vérité
Comment pour oster le desroy 204
Des Juifz est né le vray roy.
Plus ne fault ne texte ne glose.
Je ne voeul conclure aultre chose.

JASPART

Cette estoille est nouvelle mise 208
Parquoy c'est celle a nous promise,

	Et ainsy luisant clere et nette Ne sueult firmament ne planette. Ains par sa conduicte autenticque C'est de nous trois le viaticque. Elle se meult, puis elle est stable Comme une chose raisonnable. Possible l'angel le nourrit, 89 vº) Poeult estre est le Saint Esperict. Quand nous reposons l'apparence Tarde ; dont elle est difference Aulx aultres tousjours en ung point.	212 216 220
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BALTASAR

De parler nous vient bien a point
(Avoir nous n'en poons dommaige)
A ce Dieu et roy nouveau né.

MELCIOR

Quand a moy, j'ay déterminé De jamais ne arrester en voye. C'est tout mon solas et desir.	224
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JASPART

Et moy, je auray fait mon plaisir Quand Dieu couvert d'humanité Sera de par moy visité En luy presentant dons exquis. [89 vº 17 to 91 rº 25 : The Circumcision]	228
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91 rº 26)

JASPART

Qu'es cecy ? Mais que est devenue Ceste estoille sy tresluisante ?	232
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BALTASAR

Plus ne l'apperchoy soubz la nue.
Voicy fortune desplaisante.

MELCIOR

A nostre emprise estoit nuisante. Pas je ne congnoy ce pays.	236
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JASPART

S'il y a nation nuisante,
Nous polrons bien estre envahis.

BALTASAR

Quand a moy, plus ne m'esbahis
 Car j'ay une raison fundee
 En droict que sommes en Judee. 249

MELCIOR

En Judee par chemins cours
 Dieu nous a envoyez secours.

JASPART

Comment ?

BALTASAR

Pour fuyr desplaisir
 Hierusalen poons choisir. 244

MELCIOR

C'est, se j'ay bien imaginé,
 La que ce noble roy est né.
 91 v^o) Je y ay affection veritable 248
 Car c'est la ville capitale.
 Mais l'estoille ne moustre riens.

BALTASAR

Les enfans des rois terriens
 De coustume sont enfanté 252
 Es lieulx lesquelz sont plus hantez
 Et villes metropolitaines.

MELCIOR

Pour avoir responses certaines
 Feronz par cy nostres passages 256
 Adfin de demander aulx sages
 Conseil sups le faict que querrons.

JASPART

C'est bien dict. Nous en acquerrons
 Certitude sur nostre doubte. 260

BALTASAR

A ce me conclus, somme toutte.
 Entrons ens ce petagogue.

Je apperchoy en leur sinagogue
Les docteurs et scribes ensamble. 264

MELCIOR

Seigneur, cestuy quy vous assamble
Vous vouelle en sancté maintenir.

LE PHARISIEN

Et vous tous.

JASPART

Pour a fin venir,
A nous soit tost déterminé,
Ou le roy des Juifz est né,
Plus haultain que Cesarient. 268

BALTASAR

L'estoille avons vut d'Orient
Dont avoecq les dons que ferons
Yrons tant que l'adorerons. 272
Dicte tost s'il vous plect respondre.

LE SCRIBE

Ceste demande faict obtumdre
Noz oys. Bien seroit veau
De penser que ayons roy nouveau
Des Juifz. Aulcune nouvelle
N'en est. 276

MELCIOR

Tost que on le reveille,
Se yrons en paix sans cop ferir
Humblement vers luy dons offrir. 280

LE PHARISIEN

Seigneurs, depuis Anthigonous,
Dernier roy, Juifz roy ne ont nulz.
Cesar le fist decapiter
Et ung aultre magnifester. 284
Estrangier, le fils d'Idumee
Sups Jherusalem renommee
Par force a usurpé ce droict, 288

- 92 r^o) Et resister on n'y a droict.
 Car l'empereur sups tous transmis
 A volut que Herode y fut mis.
 Ja a trengte ans esté rengnant 292
 Et paisiblement dominant.
 Dea, je ne sçay se son renom
 Va jusques voz terres ou non,
 Ou se de son filz la venue 296
 Est jusques voz lieux parvenue,
 Mais ce n'est pas ung nouveau né.

JASPART

- Certes, au vray determiner,
 C'est apres aultres que nous cherchons. 300

LE SCRIBE

- Aulx faictz commung [*sic*] nous excerchons.
 Il pœult, comme suppose, avoir
 Comme vous nouvelles. Dont voir
 Yrons devers sa majesté 304
 Adfin que luy soit recité
 Le cas dont faictes diligence.
 Honnoeur soit a vostre presence,
 Chier sire, et sancté permanente. 308

LE PHARISIEN

- De vous jamais ne soit absente
 Ricesse avoecq prosperité.

HERODE

- Ce que vous me avez affecté
 Soit commung a vous tous, seigneurs. 312
 Quelz faictz estes vous enseigneurs ?
 Que dict on du gouvernement
 Des pays ?

LE SCRIBE

- Chascun humblement
 Obey a vostre haultesse. 316

LE PHARISIEN

- Trois roigz sont cy incontinent
 Venu pour avoir quelque adresse.

HERODE

Trois rois pour servir ma noblesse
Ou pour mal sont il bien ornez ? 320

LE SCRIBE

Des Indes sont rois couronnez,
De Perse, de Tharse et d'Arabye.

HERODE

De parler a eulx je esrabye.
Sçavoir me fault soubit la cause. 324
Ains que plus on parle ou on cause,
Faictes les venir.

LE PHARISIEN

Tout soubit.
Chiers sires, sans quelque interdict,
Icy par grace especiale, 328
92 v^o) Voirez la magesté realle.

JASPART

Roy puissant, noble et magnifique
Salut et vye perdurable !

BALTASAR

Dieu vous maintiengne pacifique, 332
Roy puissant, noble et magnifique.

HERODE

A vous je respondz pour repleique
Que fortune soit favourable

MELCIOR

Roy puissant, noble et magnifique, 336
Salut et vye perdurable !

HERODE

Seez vous, car l'estat notable
De vous me moustre que estes roys.

JASPART

Puis qu'il vous plaist, icy nous trois 340
Prendre voldrons siege cy pres.

HERODE

Or dictes moy par motz exprez
Que vous meu de ce chemin prendre.

BALTASAR

Nous le ferons, puis que mesprendre 344
Ne poons de verité dire.

MELCIOR

Ung roy ne auroit pas cause de yre
Quand on faict tout ce qu'il demande.

JASPART

Pour satisfaire a la demande 348
De vous, prince tres redouté,
Balaam nous avoit noté
Que une estoille se moustreroit
Au chiel quand le roy naistreroit 352
De Jacob, noble patriarche,
Et que des Juifz le monarque
Il seroit. Or est advenue
L'estoille moustrant sa venue 356
Et est celle quy nous amaine.

HÉRODE

Seigneurs, c'est par simplesse humaine
Que vous estes ainsy partis.
Prophettes sont gens aneantis. 360
De les croire ce sont abus.

BALTASAR

Pas ne sommes sy entrebus
Que ne ayons compris la maniere
De l'estoille et l'hoeur dernière, 364
Et bien sçavons notoirement
Que c'est.

HERODE

Elle est du firmament,
Possible.

MELCIOR

	Vostre paix, chier sire.	
93 r ^o)	Celle nostre chemin desire	368
	Et ne faict circuicion	
	Comme aultres de la region	
	Celeste, et nuict et le jour luict	
	Devant nous ; tant bien nous conduit.	372

HERODE

	Faictes venir de mes provinces	
	Tous prestres et tous puissans princes,	
	Scribes et aultres gens notables,	
	Adfin que par dictz profictables	376
	Je puisse a ce remede mettre.	

LE PHARISIEN

	Il sera faict, mais bien promettre	
	Je ose qu'il n'y a quelque bouche	
	Qui roy se dye, car trop touche	380
	Vostre honnoeur et le nostre aussy.	

HERODE

	Seigneurs, quy me troublez ainsy,	
	Qui est l'homme en terre n'en mer	
	Qui presuma de soy nomer	384
	Roy des Juifz tant que jè vive ?	
	Ne sçavez vous pas que dirive	
	De moy le triumphe regal ?	

LE SCRIBE

	Se aulcun se voloit dire equal	388
	A vous, roy, il est attesté	
	Crisme de lese maiesté.	
	Cela ne polriesmes porter.	

JASPART

	Chier sire, il ne fault susciter	392
	Couroux contre nous estrangiers.	

BALTASAR

	Noz parlers, sy samblent legiers,	
	Pas ne sont pour faire moleste.	

MELCIOR

Ung chascun de nous trois proteste 396
Que vous estes roy confirmé.

HERODE

Dea, se je suis mal informé
De l'estoille vers ces pays,
Estre n'en debvez esbahis. 400
Je suis sousbz l'empire romain
Soeul roy tenant tout en ma main,
Commis a ceulx qui ont du pire,
Qui rebellez ont a l'empire. 404
Maintenant n'y a plus desroy.
Je suis confirmé leur vray roy
Et n'est homme qui'l contredye.

JASPART

Pas n'est raison que mal vous dye. 408
Mais ce roy que querrons reingnant
93 v^o) Sera sups tous, et maintenant
Vous ne rengnez que en ce quartier.

HERODE

Seroit il sy fort et enthier 412
Que de moy mettre jus ? Je esrage.
Je n'ay plus cœur ne corage.
Perdray je mon rengne et mon hoeur ?
Perdray je le nom de seigneur ? 416
Perdray je proesse et amis ?

LE PHARISIEN

Ne soyez en ce tourble mis
Car yre oste toutte clemence.
D'ung roy yre cause demence. 420
Acoustez moy pour appaisier
Vostre courroux. Iceulx prisier
Debvez qui viennent pour honnoeur
Faire au roy. C'est a vous, seigneur. 424
Roy estes cy déterminé

BALTASAR

Vray est, mais pas n'est nouveau né.

HERODE

Ha, fortune rude et sceleste !
 Trop asprement cy me moleste, 428
 Que je suis en ung grand dangier.

LE SCRIBE

Appaisier vous vouelx de legier.
 Ces rois cy ne ont que resverye.
 En eulx ce n'est que songerie. 432
 Et quand une estoille seroit,
 Une commette on en feroit,
 Quy souvent se moustre cy bas.
 Leurs dictz, ce ne sont que esbas, 436
 Car une feste solempnele
 Auroit ceste chose nouvelle.

MELCIOR

Ouy, se Dieu quy tout compose
 De aultrement faire ne dispose. 440

HERODE

Ilz parlent d'ung Crist quy sera.
 Sçavez vous ou il naistera ?
 Dictes moy ce que vous trouvez.

LE PHARISIEN

En Michee au chincquiesme avez 444
 Que de Bethleem doit venir
 Chestuy que on doit roy maintenir,
 Disant : Bethleem de Judee,
 Terre de Dieu recommandee, 448
 Pas n'est minime ou trop petite,
 Es princes de Judas l'eslitte,
 Car de toy ung duc naistera
 Quy sups Israel rengnera 452
 Pour regir et pour gouverner
 94 r^o) Mon poeuple a jamais sans finir.

HERODE

Ceste notte la, bien pesee,
 Me faict estre en doubte et pensee. 456
 Est il ainsy ?

LE SCRIBE

Rien n'est plus vray.

HERODE

Bien ! Bien ! Bien ! Bien je y remediray.
Vous, mes gens, faictes le depart.
A ces roigz voeulx parler a part.
Suyvez moy.

460

JASPART

Vostre bon plaisir
Soit faict.

BALTASAR

Nous ne volons choisir
Chose quy vous puisse desplaire.

HERODE

Or cha doncques, pour moy complaire
Dictes moy se plus volez voir
Cette estoille ?

464

MELCIOR

Ouy, certes, pour voir.

HERODE

Sçavez vous bien qu'au firmament
N'est pas ?

JASPART

Oy, sont mouvement
N'est pas tel : se est pres de la terre.
Se luict nuict et jour.

468

HERODE

Dea ! raison
Vous avez : mais de la saison
Quand l'estoille s'est apparue ?

472

BALTASAR

Dix jours y a que l'avons vue,
Ou environ.

HERODE

Ne plus ne mains ?

MELCIOR

Nous seriesmes bien inhumains
De vous mentir.

HERODE

A tout bien prendre,	476
En voz dis n'y a que reprendre.	
J'ay grand plaisir de tel langaige.	
A ce Crist je luy doy hommaige.	
Quand il vous plect vous en yrez	480
Et bien vous interroghuez	
De cest enfant a diligence.	
Puis, quant vous aurez vut sa presence,	
Reviendrez moy faire sçavoir	484
Le tout, car faire voeulx debvoir	
De humblement le aller adorer.	

94 vº)

ENSAMBLE

Congiet, chier sire.

HERODE

Rethirer	
Vous poez, quand il vous plaira.	488
<i>(Ils se rethirent et font signe d'estre joyeux voiant l'es-</i>	
<i>toille).</i>	

JASPART

Quelle joie nous complaira
Plus ? Regardez !

BALTASAR

Joye sups joye !

MELCIOR

De tous biens avons la mout joye.

JASPART

Que nous faut il ? Dieu nous regarde. 492

BALTASAR

C'est la ghuide et nostre avantgarde,

MELCIOR

Le vela ! Pas je n'adévine.

JASPART

Loenge a la vertu divine.

MELCIOR

Advis m'est que sa station 496
Faict sups ceste habitation.

BALTASAR

Comment le roy sups tous vray Dieu
Seroit il en sy povre lieu ?

MELCIOR

De tarder la faict son office 500
Droict sur ce petit edifice.

JASPART

En petit lieu sont choses grandes
Souvent.

BALTASAR

Apprestons nos offrandes.

MELCIOR

Voicy trois dons pour luy decens : 504
L'or, le mire et aussy le encens.
L'or comme au roy, mire comme homme,
Et l'encens comme a Dieu en somme.

JASPART

J'en ay aultant.

BALTASAR

Et moy aultant, 508
 Ainsy comme vous. D'enstant,
 Sire Jaspert, comme l'aisné,
 Entrez devant.

MELCIOR

Déterminé
 Il est.

JASPART

Quoy que soye mineur 512
 De vous, me faictes trop d'honneur.
 Regardons la bonté immense
 De Dieu. Qu'elle est grande et clemence
 De estre ainsy tres povrement. 516

(La Vierge Marye doit estre soeulle sans Joseph,
 ayant son filz. Itenque les rois le saluront, ung ser-
 viteur estendra ung drap pour recepvoir les dons.)

BALTASAR

A genoulx chascun humblement.

95 r^o)

MELCIOR

C'est droict pour obtenir bon hoer
 De a deux genoulx luy faire honnoeur.

JASPART

Je te adore, mon vray Dieu admirable, 520
 Mon createur dessus tous glorieulx.
 Je te adore, Filz de Dieu venerable,
 Dieu tout puissant, bening et vertueux.
 Je te adore, parfait, egregieulx, 524
 Et fermement croy que soubz couverture
 D'humanité, tu es la geniture
 Du Dieu vivant. Prendz ce don imparfait
 Par lequel je te proteste et figure 528
 Estre vray Dieu, vray homme et roy parfait.

BALTASAR

Je te adore, vray filz desiderable,
 Chief du monde, et le fruct tres precieulx.

Je te adore, bening et exorable, 532
 Sups tous humains le fruit tres specieux.
 Je te adore, roy sups tous ditieux,
 Verbe eternel que homme humain ne mesure,
 Pain celeste pour nostre noriture. 536
 Rechoit ce don tel que pour moy le a faict
 En demoustrant ta presente facture
 Estre vray Dieu, vray homme et roy parfaict.

MELCIOR

Je te adore, puissance insuperable, 540
 Vray protecteur de l'homme obsequieux.
 Je te adore, salut innenarable,
 Refuge sceur au bon solacyeux.
 Je te adore, regard dilicyeux. 544
 De tous serreiz la parfaicte lecture.
 Present te fay adfin que je procure
 De estre par toy de ta grace reffaict,
 Voeullant moustre que te croy par droicture 548
 Estre vray Dieu, vray homme et roy parfaict.

JASPART

Prince, honnoeur soit a ta noble nature.

BALTASAR

Roy, ton rengne ne poeult estre deffaict.

MELCIOR

Puis que a nous te moustre voeullant conclure 552

ENSAMBLE

Estre vray Dieu, vray homme et roy parfaict.

MARIE

Seigneurs, vous regardez de faict
 La povreté de cy dessus.
 Vous estes povrement rechupz. 556
 Ce poise moy que plus honneste
 N'est le lieu en la maisonnette.
 Cest enfant a ses bracheletz
 Couvertz de povres drappeletz. 560
 De roy avoir sy povre mere
 Ce semble estre une chose amere.
 Mais Dieu voeult en ce point venir.

JASPART

Dame, puis que icy parvenir 564
 Nous a faict Dieu qui tout regarde,
 Du lieu nous ne prendrons pas garde.
 Gardez ces dons, car puis que Dieu
 Nous a conduit jusque a ce lieu 568
 Espoir avons qu'y conduira
 La reste, et bien nous rendera
 Au centiesme plus que n'avons
 Donné, et bien nous le sçavons. 572

BALTASAR

Dame, au congiet nous pretendons
 De vous saluer sans offendre.

MELCIOR

Humblement vous recommandons
 Cest enfant, voeuillant congié prendre. 576

JASPART

Grace a Dieu, et sans plus attendre,
 Dame, a vous ce salut rendons.
(Il se parlent.)

MARIE

De Dieu sont acceptez voz dons,
 Auquel estes recommandez. 580

JASPART

A bon port sommes abordez,
 Mais du rethour, quand me en souvient,
 Le record d'ung songe me vient. 584
 Ung angel me a dict en songeant
 Ceste nuict en moy reposant,
 Que vers la mer mon chemin dresse,
 Et que a Herode ne me adresse,
 Car Herode, qui tant enquerre 588
 A volut, voeult nostre Dieu querre.
 Mais quoy qu'il soit trahistre et fin,
 Ne le sçaura ja mettre a fin.
 Je vous déclare la deffence 592
 De Dieu, et sans craindre l'offence
 De Herode, a luy je n'iray point.

BALTASAR

Il m'est advenu en ce poinct
Que a vous, en ceste nuict passee. 596

MELCIOR

Et a moy. Tout d'une pensee
Estions. Tost que chascun se avoye
De vers la mer prendre sa voye.

JASPART

C'est bien dict ; dont tout par compas 600
De y aller rethirons noz pas.

GLOSSARY

- Accendre, *v.*, 83, *ascend*.
 Acouster, *v.*, 421, *listen*. Cf. Littré, *écouter*, *étym*.
 Adeviner, *v.*, 66, 494, *divine*, *guess*. Cf. Lacurne de Sainte Palaye, *s. v.*
 Adherer, *v.*, 21, *be attached*.
 Admiration, *n.*, 19, *wonder*.
 Advirronner (de terre), *n.*, 57, *circuit*. Cf. 181-4.
 Affecté, *p. p.*, 311, *wish, desire*.
 Anction., *n.*, 44, *Actaeon*.
 Aneanti, *p. p.*, 360, *negligible*.
 Appareil, *n.*, 192, *like thing (i. e., light)*.
 Augmentation, *n.*, 58, *size*.
 Austral, *adj.*, 40, *southern*.
 Autenticque, *adj.*, 212, *sure*.
 Avoecq, *prep.*, 35, 39, 103 etc., *with*.
 Avoir, *v.*, a, 537 = *as, thou hast*.
 Avoyer, *v.*, 116, 598, *put on the way*.
 Bouge, *n.*, 98, *leather bag*.
 Brachelet, *n.*, 559, *little arm*.
 Carton, *n.*, 34, (Mod. Fr. *charretton*). *Auriga, the charioteer* (constellation).
 Cesarient, *n.*, 270, *Caesar*.
 Chevalz, *n.*, 34, *Pegasus* (constellation).
 Chiennette, *n.*, 44, *Canis Minor* (constellation).
 Choisir, *v.*, 245, 462, *perceive, discover*.
 Circuition, *n.*, 26, *encircling position*; 369, *circular movement*.
 Clemence, *adj.*, (?), 515 = *clemente* (?), *clement*; cf. *différence infra*.
 Colaudation, *n.*, 154, *praise*.
 Commis, *p. p.*, 403, *set over*.
 Compas (par), *n.*, 600 *precisely, directly*.
 Compasser, *n.*, 64, *measure, estimate*.
 Complaire, *v.*, 489, *please*.
 Complementation, *n.*, 34, *supplement, completion*.
 Conclure, *v.*, 147, *mean, indicate*; 173, 261, *accord, agree*.
 Conduicte, *n.*, 212, *guidance*.
 Cop, *n.*, 280, *blow*.
 Coronation, *n.*, 28, (de Hercules). *the constellation Hercules*.
 Demaine, *n.*, 118, *demesne, domain*.
 Desroy, *n.*, 204, *confusion, distress*.
 Dessups, *adv.*, 555, *above*.
 Detention, *n.*, 31, *holding*.
 Determiner, *n.*, 299, *conclusion*.
 Difference, *adj.*, (?), 219 = *différente* (?), *different*, cf. *clemence, supra*.

- Diriver, *v.*, 386, — *de, be derived from, belong to.*
- Ditieux, *adj.*, 534, *rich.* Cf. Lat. *dis, ditis, rich, ditæ, wealth.*
- Duire, *v.*, 121, 194, *conduct, lead.*
- Eduction, *n.*, 8, *appearance.*
- Egreieulx, *adj.*, 524, *excellent, great.*
- Emidamis, *n.*, 42, *Eridanus.*
- Emission, *n.*, 35, *shooting.*
- Empoint, *adj.*, 107, *in good condition.*
- Enseigneur, *n.*, 313, *informant.*
- Enthier, *adj.*, 412, *uninjured, powerful.*
- Entrebut, *adj.*, 164, 362, *half-drunk.* Cf. Sainte Palaye : *s. v.* ENTREBEU.
- Envahir, *v.*, 238, *attack.*
- Envis, *adv.*, 127, *unwillingly.*
- Esbat, *n.*, 436, *foolish amusement.*
- Esrabier, *v.*, 323, *be beside one's self, desire madly.*
- Exaltation, *n.*, 16, *superiority.*
- Excercher, *v.*, 301, *exercise, concern.*
- Expres,-ez, *adj.*, 157, 342, *sure, certain.*
- Facond, *adj.*, 136, *eloquent.*
- Faict., *n.*, 121, *affairs.*
- Fumaille, *n.*, 100, *perfume, incense.*
- Glane, *n.*, 41, *cluster (? of stars).* Cf. Godefroy, *s. v.*, GLANE 2.
- Honnesté, *n.*, 136, *honor.*
- Induction, *n.*, 145, *instigation.*
- Itenque, *adv.*, (stage directions after 516), *while.*
- Joinet, *adj.*, 96, *rapid.*
- Lecture, *n.*, 545, *choice.*
- Léz, *n.*, 40, *side.*
- Majoration, *n.*, 56, *size.*
- Meredionnal, *adj.*, 69, *southern.*
- Mineur, *adj.*, 512, *younger.*
- Munde, *adj.*, 133, *pure, untainted.*
- Navigation (d'Argos), *n.*, 43, *ship (the constellation Argo).*
- Notoirement, *adv.*, 365, *clearly.*
- Notte, *n.*, 455, *text.*
- Nourrir, *v.*, 216, *support.*
- Numeration, *n.*, 22, *number.*
- Obfusquer, *v.*, 192, *obscure.*
- Obtumdre, *v.*, 275, *dull.* Cf. Godefroy, *s. v.* OBTONDRE : *émousser, au propre et au figuré.*
- Oppinion, *n.*, 141 : *vous avez mon o., you are of my opinion.*
- Ornez, *adj.*, 320, *equipped.*
- Ostention, *n.*, 32, *appearance.*
- Percuter, *v.*, 75, *smite.*
- Petagogue, *n.*, 262, *school.*
- Peuchimere, 30 = *peu chimere, real ? or read, penthimere, πενθήμερος, of five days ?*
- Possible, *adv.*, 367, *possibly*
- Procurer, *v.*, 153, 546, *endeavor, apply one's self.*
- Propaler, *v.* 9, *manifest.*
- Qu'il, 125, 569 = *qui, who.* For confusion in the use of *qui* and *qu'il*, see Brunot, *Hist. de la langue française*, I, p. 430.
- Qu'y, 569 = *qu'il* Cf. *qu'il, supra.*
- Recoler, *v.*, 6, *indicate.*
- Record, *n.*, 583, *recollection.*
- Referrer, *n.*, 60, *report.*
- Reslechier, *v.*, 78, *rejoice.*
- Rethirer, *v.*, 51, *remove.*
- Reugler, *v.*, 115, *regulate, direct.*
- Saiette, *n.*, 36, *Sagitta (constellation).*
- Scription, *n.*, 23, *counting, statement.*
- Se for, si, *conj.*, 5, 470, etc., *so, and.*
- Sintiler, *v.*, 3, *scintillate.*
- Sodiach, *n.*, 49, *Zodiac.*
- Sont, *adj.*, 468, *his.*
- Sortir, *v.*, 106, *furnish, supply.*
- Succinction, *n.*, 41, *girdle, (Orion's) Belt.*
- Sumiere, *adj.* 190, *conclusive.*
- Sups, *prep.*, 13, 17, 452, etc., *on, upon.*
- Tarder, *v.*, 219, *wait, rest.*
- Taxee, *adj.*, 197, *take into account.*
- Terrien, *adj.*, 251, *earthly.*

Thurribulation, *n.*, 47, *censing*,
perfuming.

Tourble, *n.*, 418 = trouble, *agi-*
tation.

Transmis, *p. p.*, 290, *put*, *set*.

Triangulation, *n.*, 38, *Triangle*
(constellation).

Triumphe, *n.*, 387, *authority*.

Turbation, *n.*, 2, *agitation*.

Ultion, *n.*, 53, *vengefulness*.

Valitude, *n.*, 130, *health*.

Veau, *adj.*, 276, *foolish*, *simple*.

Viaticque, *n.*, 213, *guide*.

Voltoir, *n.*, 29, *Vulture* (constella-
tion).

THE LEGEND OF THREE KINGS IN THE VALENCIENNES PASSION

Jaspart Roy. Cf. pp. 21-22, *Excerpta Latina Barbari*, etc. and n. 5 for a discussion of the names of the Magi and pp. 70-71 for the appearance of the names in the drama.

v. 5, *Se a ung enfant... portant la croix* : cf. « stella illa... habens in se formam quasi pueri parvuli et super se similitudinem crucis », of Pseudo Chrysostom, p. 26.

v. 7, *Balaam,.. Nostre grand pere* : cf. p. 12, Irenæus (Numbers, XXIV, 17) for the prophecy of Balaam, and for the Magi as descendants of Balaam : Origen, p. 12 ; Isidore, p. 20 ; Honorius of Autun p. 25.

v. 11-13, *Douze hommes sont de nostre nation... sups montaignes* : cf. « Itaque elegerunt seipsos duodecim... ascendent in montem etc. », of Pseudo-Chrysostom p. 26.

v. 20 ff., cf. Appendix I, B, pp. 84-6 and pp. 65-7 for a discussion of the Magi as star-gazers in theological tradition and in the drama respectively.

v. 62, *Ceste la...* : for all the references to the nature of the star, cf. Appendix I, C, pp. 86-7 and more particularly, Chrysostom, pp. 16-7. E. g. v. 63, *de l'air cy bas* — « ad inferiora... inferne demissa » ; v. 69-70 *meredionnal... septentrionnal* — « a septentrione ad meridiem » ; v. 200, *quoy que soleil luise* « in meridie lucente sole », etc. ».

v. 67, 322, *Perse* ; cf. Introduction, p. 2 ; Juvenius

and Prudentius, p. 15 ; Jerome and Chrysostom, p. 16-17 ; Haymo of Halberstadt, p. 23 ; Anselm of Laon, p. 25.

v. 74, *les filz de Seth Et de Moab perculera, Et en Ydumee* : cf. « et percutiet duces Moab, vastabit omnes filios Seth. Et erit Idumæa », of Numbers XXIV, 17 (see p. 7) quoted by Irenæus, p. 11-12, in the liturgy for the Epiphany, etc. etc.

v. 95, *Dromadaires* : cf. Christianus of Stable and Anselm of Laon, p. 24 ; Innocent III, p. 28.

v. 107, *Vostre cheval* : cf. Anselm of Laon, p. 24, « equos arabicos ».

v. 124-173, for the meeting of the Kings and their decision to go together to make their offerings, cf. the French narrative poems, pp. 39-40.

v. 163 ff. cf. Appendix I, A, pp. 80-4 for the meaning of the gifts.

v. 215, *une chose raisonnable* : cf. Cæsarius, p. 14, and Chrysostom, p. 16.

v. 286, *estrangier, le fils d'Idumee* : cf. note on v. 74, and Hrabanus Maurus, p. 22.

v. 473, *dix jours y a* : cf. Jerome, pp. 15-6 ; Christianus and Anselm, p. 24, and for the length of the journey in the drama, pp. 69-70.

v. 504-8, for the tradition of each King's offering all three gifts, cf. Jerome, p. 16 ; Maximus of Turin, p. 18 ; Paschasius, p. 23 ; Anselm of Laon, p. 25, etc.

v. 586, *vers la mer* : cf. Arnobius the Younger, pp. 18-9 and Anselm of Laon, p. 25 for the return of the Magi by ship.

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INDEX

- ABELARD, 25, 27, 34, 66, 85.
Aiol, 36, 39, 43, 45, 76.
 ALAIN OF LILLE, 41.
 ALBERTUS MAGNUS, 28-9, 83, 85, 87.
 ALCUIN (Pseudo-). — *Liber de Div. Offic.*, 20, 22, 66, 85, 87.
 AMBROSE, 12, 15, 80.
 ANSELM OF LAON, 24-5, 83.
 ANZ (H). — *Die lateinischen Magierspiele*, 49, 70.
 APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS, 8-10. — See *Poèmes de l'Enfance* ; *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy*, 8, 9, 10, 14, 20, 25, 70 ; Pseudo-Matthew, *Liber de Infantia Mariae*, 3, 8, 9, 10, 18, 27, 32, 35, 37, 48 ; *Protevangeliū*, 8, 9, 11, 48.
 ARNOBIUS THE YOUNGER, 18.
 AUGUSTINE, 17, 19, 21, 29, 41, 81, 86.
 BAIST (G.), 21, 23, 47, 48, 55.
 BASIL THE GREAT, 14, 80, 86.
 BEDE, 82, 87.
 BEDE (Pseudo-),. — *Collectanea et Flores*, 21, 84.
 BERGER (S.). — *Les Noms des Rois Mages*, 21 n.
 BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, 27, 29, 83, 87.
 Bible narrative of the Wise Men : Gospel of St. Matthew, 6-7, 14, 16 ; O. T. Prefigurations, 7, 12, 13, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, 28, 40.
Bible de Sapience, see *Romans*.
Bible des Sept Estaz du Monde, 35, 36.
 BONAVENTURA (Pseudo-). — see *Med. Vitae Christi*.
 CAESARIUS, 14, 86.
 CAESARIUS OF ARLES, 19.
 CLAUDIAN, 15.
 CHAMBERS (E. K.). — *The Mediaeval Stage*, 50, 67, 73, 78.
 CHRISTIANUS OF STABLE, 24.
 CHRYSOSTOM (John), 14, 16-7, 28, 41, 86.
 CHRYSOSTOM (Pseudo-), 26, 27, 29, 33, 34, 63, 85, 87.
 COLOGNE, 30.
 COSMAS OF JERUSALEM, 20, 85, 87.
 CYPRIAN (Pseudo-), 84, 86, 87 :
 DIODORUS TARSENSIS, 14.
 DUPIRE (N.). — *Le Mystère de la Passion*, 88, 89.
 DURIEZ (G.). — *La Théologie dans le Drame Religieux*, 3, 31.
 EPHRAIM THE SYRIAN, 29.
Evangile de l'Enfance, see *Poèmes*.
Excerpta Latina Barbari, 21.
 FITZMAURICE-KELLY(J). — *La Littérature espagnole*, 46, 47, 52, 61, 65.
 FLAVIUS DEXTER, 21.
 FORD (J. D. M.). — *Old Spanish Readings*, 48, 53.
 FULGENTIUS, 19, 81, 87.
 GARNIER OF LANGRES, 41.
 GEFFROI DE PARIS. — see *Bible des Sept Estaz*.
 GIFTS OF THE WISE MEN : symbolic meaning, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, 24, 27, 43, 54, 65, 80-4, 95, 96, 110-11 ; tests of identity, 42, 44-5, 65, 73, 74, 76,

- 77, 78 ; custom of the country, 23, 24, 95 ; whether each king gives all three, 9, 16, 18, 23, 25, 32, 95, 110, 111.
- GRAF (A.). — *Studii Drammatici*, 47, 61, 65, 67.
- GREGORY NANZIANZEN, 13, 65, 84, 86.
- GREGORY OF NYSSA, 14, 86.
- GREGORY THE GREAT, 82.
- HARTMANN (K. A. M.). — *Ueber das Altspanische Dreikönigspiel*, 3, 21, 47, 48, 60.
- HAYMO OF HALBERSTADT, 14, 22.
- HELINANDUS, 27, 83, 87.
- HERMAN DE VALENCIENNES. — see *Romans*.
- HEROD, 22 ; monologue, 60 ; consultation with scribes, 45, 59, 60, 73, 74 ; questions, 8, 9, 54 ; dismissal of Wise Men, 9, 10, 59-60.
- HILARY OF POITIERS, 12, 13, 16, 80, 86.
- HILDEBERT OF LAVARDIN, 83, 85.
- HILL OF VAWS. — see *Mons Victorialis*.
- Historia Trium Regum*, 19, 31, 33-4, 41, 86, 87.
- HONORIUS OF AUTUN, 20, 25, 83, 85, 87.
- HORSTMANN (C.). — see *Hist. Trium Regum*.
- HRABANUS MAURUS, 20, 22, 82, 87.
- IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH, 11, 86.
- INNOCENT III, 28, 83, 87.
- IRENÆUS, 11-7, 80.
- ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, 20, 22, 25, 82, 85.
- JEAN D'ABUNDANCE. — *Joyeulx Mistère*, 90.
- JEAN D'OUTREMEUSE, *Ly Myreur des histors*, 37, 73.
- JEAN MOLINET, 88, 89.
- JEROME, 12, 15-16, 19, 20, 80.
- JOHN OF HILDESHEIM, 41-2 ; see *Hist. Trium Regum*.
- JOSEPH, 27, 31, 110.
- JOURNEY OF THE WISE MEN : length of, 16, 24, 69-70 ; a pilgrimage, 39, 41 ; retinue, 22, 23, 24, 29 ; on dromedaries, 24, 28 ; return by ship, 4, 18, 25, 113.
- JUSTIN MARTYR, 11.
- JUVENCUS, 14-5, 23, 80, 84.
- KEHRER (H.). — *Die Heiligen Drei Könige*, 2, 23, 31, 33.
- KLAPPER (J.). — *Das St. Galler Spiel*, 3, 31, 33.
- KNEISEL (A.). — *Das Mystère La Passion*, 58, 88, 89.
- KRETZMANN (P. E.). — *The Liturgical Element*, 49.
- Legenda Aurea*, 27, 30, 83, 85, 87.
- LEO THE GREAT, 18, 66, 81, 85, 86.
- LUDOLPH OF SAXONY. — *Vita Christi*, 33, 84, 86.
- MAGI : number, 3, 10, 16, 28, 34 ; kings, 12, 13, 15, 16, 19, 20, 25, 28 ; astrologers, 12, 13, 20, 22, 26, 65-7, 84-6 ; names, 20, 21, 21 n, 22, 27, 43 ; 70-71 ; ages, 21, 110 ; color, 19, 20, 21 ; country, 2, 11, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 25, 34, 71, 72, 92, 102 ; descendants of Balaam, 12, 13, 20, 23, 25, 91 ; of Noah, 20 ; of Zoroaster, 20, 22, 23, 25, 28, 70 ; doubt concerning the star, 61-5.
- MARBODUS, 83.
- MARCO POLO. — *Travels*, 42, 43, 44, 65, 73.
- MARGUERITE DE NAVARRE. — *Comédie de l'Adoration*, 90.
- MARY, gifts to, 9, 10 ; Christ Child in her lap, 9, 10, 18, 29-30.
- MAXIMUS OF TURIN, 17-8, 19, 23, 81, 86.
- Meditationes Vitae Christi*, 29.
- MENÉNDEZ PIDAL (R.). — *Cantar de Mio Cid*, 21 n. ; *Misterio de los R. M.*, 46, 72.
- MESSENGERS OF HEROD, 8, 9, 59, 61, 72.
- MEYER (Paul). — *Poèmes de l'Enfance*, 35, 37-8 ; *Bible des Sept Estaz*, 35 n.
- MILAN, 30.
- Miracles which happened to the Magi*, 31-2, 34.

- Mistère de St. Quentin*, 89.
MONS VICTORIALIS (Vaus, Vagus), 26, 33-4 ; see *Hill of Vaws*.
MOREL-FATIO (A.). — *Review of Hartmann's dissertation*, 47, 52.
Mozarabic liturgy, 47, 48, 54, 78.
NICHOLAS OF LYRA. — *Postillae*, 3, 4, 33, 83, 87.
OFFERTORY, 50, 78.
Opus Imperfectum, see *Chrysostom* (Pseudo —).
ORIGEN, 12, 80, 86.
PASCHASIUS RADBERTUS, 23, 82, 85.
Passions and Homilies from Leabhar Breac, 21.
PAULINUS OF AQUILEIA, 82.
PETER COMESTOR, 4, 24, 27, 28, 29, 83, 87.
PETRUS CHRYSOLOGUS, 81, 85.
PHILIPPE MOUSQUET. — *Chronique rimée*, 36, 40, 73.
PICOT (E.). — *Fragments inédits*, 88, 89.
Poèmes de l'Enfance, 35-45, 65, 74-6, 78-9.
PROPHECY : of Balaam, see *Star* ; of Zoroaster, 9, 10, 70 ; of **JEREMIAH**, 71.
PRUDENTIUS, 15, 81, 84, 86.
Romans de Sapience, 35, 36, 44.
ROY (E.). — *Le Mystère de la Passion*, 4, 37, 37 n., 56, 88.
RUSTICIEN DE PISE, 44.
SCRIBES, dispute between, 60, 72, 73, 77 ; consultation, see *Herod*.
SEDATUS, 19, 20, 82.
SEDULIUS, 81, 86.
SICARDUS, 83, 85.
SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS PLAYS, 4, 45, 60, 71.
Speculum Humanae Salvationis ; 33, 84, 85, 87.
STAR OF THE WISE MEN : nature of, 4, 13, 14, 16, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 67, 86-7, 91, 97, 104, 107 ; brightness 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 22, 25, 67, 96 ; novelty, 11, 13, 17, 18, 19, 67-9 ; of Balaam, 12, 22, 91, 103 ; time of appearance 9, 10, 16, 17, 69-70, 107-8 ; an angel, 9, 10, ; an eagle, 34 ; a child, 26, 91, 117 ; a rational power, 14, 16, 98 ; « royal », 14.
SYNESIUS, 15.
TERTULLIAN, 12, 16, 65, 84.
THEOPHYLACTUS, 82, 85.
THOMAS AQUINAS, 29, 85, 87.
THREE KINGS PLAYS :
 Latin : *Benediktbeuren*, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 66, 68, 71, 77, 79 ; *Besançon*, 49 ; *Freising*, 52 ; *Nevers*, 59 ; *Orléans*, 40, 52 ; *Rouen*, 40, 51 ; *Vienna*, 49 ;
 Spanish : *Misterio de los R. M.*, 3, 41, 43, 46-79, 90 ;
 French : *Arras*, 57, 59, 61, 63, 64, 67, 68, 70, 72, 89 ; *Chantilly*, 57, 61, 67, 70 ; *Comédie de l'Adoration*, 90 ; *Greban*, 4, 57, 59, 63, 64, 68, 70, 89 ; *Jeu des Rois Mages*, 58 ; *Joyeux Mistère*, 90 ; *Mystère de la Conception*, 89, 90 ; *Mystère de l'Incarnation*, 58 ; *Jean Michel*, 89 ; *Ste. Geneviève*, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 43, 45, 56, 59, 63, 65, 68, 72, 73 ; *Semur*, 56, 61, 68 ; *Valenciennes*, *Bib. Nat.*, 58, *Valenciennes*, *Passion en rime franchoise*, 2, 5, 26, 57, 58, 63, 88-118 ;
 English : *Chester*, 16, 26, 31, 56, 57, 59, 63, 65 ; *Digby*, 58 ; *Coventry*, 26, 34, 56, 59, 63, 70 ; *Ludus Coventriae*, 57, 59 ; *Towneley*, 57, 59, 64, 66, 69 ; *York*, 14, 57, 59, 63, 64 ;
 German, *Eger*, 4, 26, 31, 57, 63 ; *Erlau*, 58, 59, 61, 69 ; *Innsbruck*, 58 ; *Maastricht*, 56, 57 ; *St. Gall*, 3, 41, 56, 57, 63, 66, 69.
TERTULLIAN, 12, 16, 65, 84.
THEODOTUS OF ANCYRA, 85.
THEOPHYLACTUS, 82, 85.
THOMAS AQUINAS, 29, 85, 87.

VERGIL, 48, 52.

VINCENT OF BEAUVAIS, 29, 85.

Vita B. V. M. et Salvatoris, 31-3,
34, 87.

Vita Christi, see Ludolphus.

WALAFRID STRABO, 22, 23, 82, 87.

WALTER BURLEY, 20-1.

WALTHER v. Rheinau, 31.

WARNING BY AN ANGEL, 9, 10, 112

WERNER OF ST. BLASIEN, 24, 27.

WILMOTTE (M.). — *Les Passions
allemandes*, 4.

YOUNG (K.), 71; Texts and biblio-
graphy, 49, 49 n.

ZACHARIAS CHRYSOPOLITANUS, 24,
27.

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